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# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE  
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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## CONTENTS

Editorial Notes

•

7 The S. P. G. and the Church in the American Colonies:  
New York  
New Jersey  
Massachusetts

*By Sir Edward Midwinter, K. B. E.*

•

The Church in Pennsylvania

*By Louis C. Washburn, D. D.*

•

Reviews

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# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

## OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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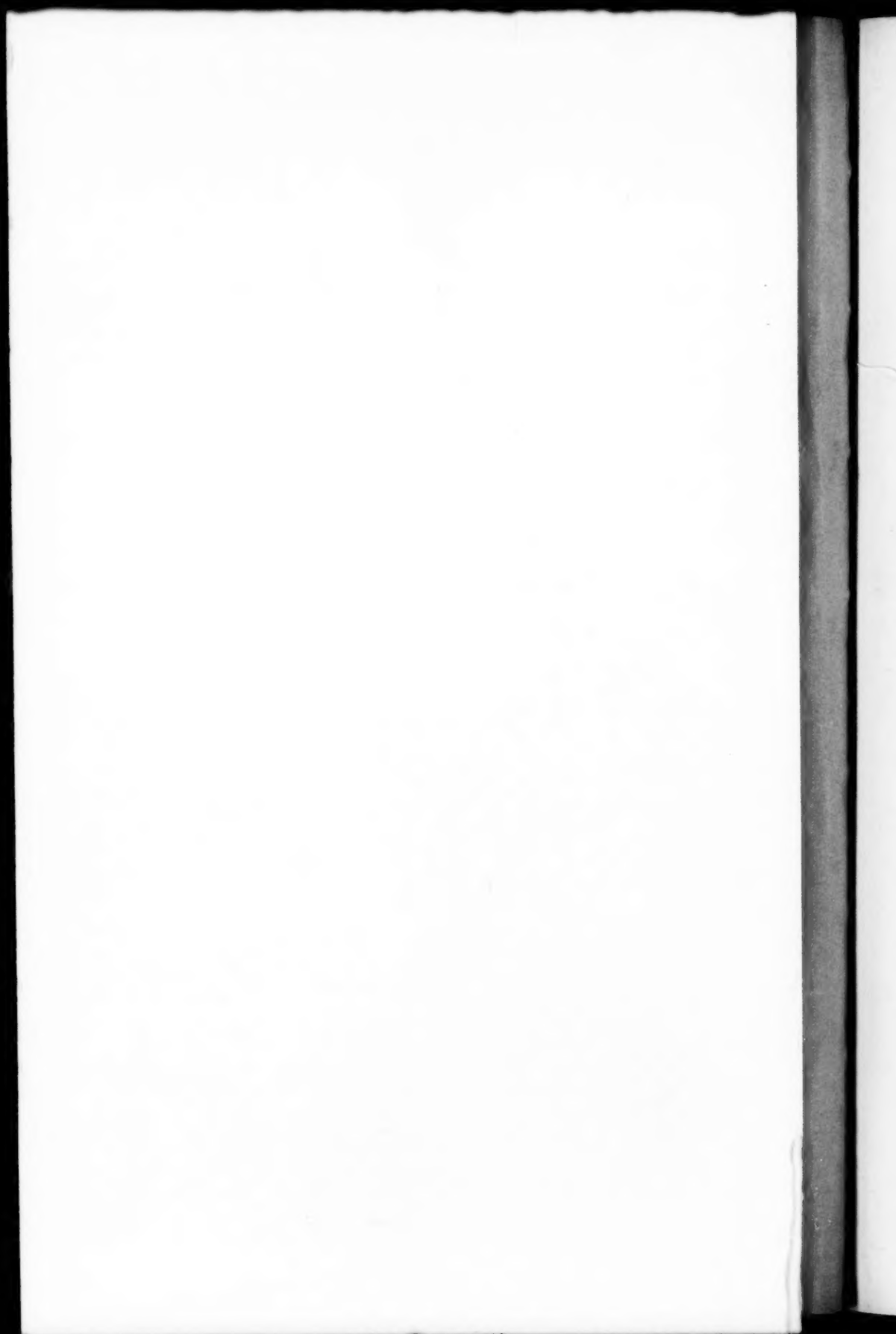
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# Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

FOR several years it has been known that the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were rich in letters and reports of the Society's missionaries in North America. For lack of funds these were not available for the use of students of our Church history, though of late years some photostat copies have been made for the Library of Congress. But a large number remained uncatalogued. We are happy to state that this defect is being remedied. By a large gift of the late Edward Harkness of this country what is known as the Pilgrim Trust has been created. The Trust has made a generous gift for the fitting out of an Archives room in London and also a grant towards the editing of the papers of the Society and their ultimate publication. The Archives room was opened on February 20. Pending publication it will now be possible to obtain copies of letters and other papers.

We are also happy to chronicle the arrival in this country of the Rev. Canon Stacy Waddy, D. D., secretary of the S. P. G., and Sir Edward Midwinter, head of the archives department. They come at the invitation of the Diocese of New Jersey and will visit the old stations of the missionaries of the S. P. G. in that diocese. Canon Waddy will be one of the speakers at the sesqui-centennial of the Diocese of New York, and Sir Edward Midwinter will broadcast an address over the Columbia network. Visits to Connecticut and Massachusetts will follow. Canon Waddy is to preach in the Washington Cathedral and Raleigh, N. C., and will have an opportunity to see Jamestown Island and Bruton Parish Church at Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Church in Illinois this year celebrates its Centennial with a series of impressive services and meetings. The April number of *The Diocese of Chicago* is a beautifully printed and illustrated account of the days that are past and the greater days to come. The primary convention, which was held at Peoria on March 9, 1835, elected Philander Chase as first Bishop of Illinois. There were present three clergymen and six laymen. Under the vigorous leadership of Bishop George Craig Stewart the Diocese of Chicago is going to express its thankfulness for the life and work of one hundred years by a concerted effort to raise within the next five years the sum of one million dollars. The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE wishes the Bishop and his army of helpers "good luck in the name of the Lord."

The attention of our readers is drawn to the fact that the September issue of this Magazine will be a Bishop Jackson Kemper issue celebrating his consecration as the first Missionary Bishop of this Church in 1835. Articles, written by experts, will cover his career as Presbyter, Missionary and Diocesan Bishop. His work covered Missouri, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Florida and Wisconsin. It will be the nearest approach to an adequate biography which is now available.

After more than three years of invaluable service the Rev. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon has been compelled to resign from the treasure-ship of this Magazine owing to increasing pressure of diocesan work. His successor is the Rev. Walter H. Stowe, rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Dr. Brydon's name has been added to the list of contributing editors.

## THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AND THE CHURCH IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES

*Three Letters by  
Sir Edward Midwinter, K.B.E.\**

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### I.

#### NEW YORK

I SHOULD NOT DREAM of attempting to deal in general with the early history of the Anglican parishes in the State of New York. But I have been particularly invited, on the occasion of this Third Jubilee Celebration, to say something of that history from the point of view of the S. P. G.

We treasure in our Archives a wonderful collection of letters and documents from the America of Colonial days, addressed or communicated to the Society by its Missionaries, their people and their patrons. It contains a vivid picture of the early growth and struggle of your Church.

The greater part of our records have long been accessible to the American public both through the facsimiles in the Library of Congress and through various printed transcripts; they are well known to American scholars as historical sources.

It may not be amiss, however, to remind you how this precious collection originated.

It is composed primarily of letters from the Society's Missionaries and Schoolmasters, from each of whom it required a half-yearly report. Some of these are brief, some give detailed accounts of the Parishes, and their cumulative effect is a living impression of the Religious development of the Colonies and its social and economic background. Interspersed among these Reports are Petitions from Vestries and leading inhabitants for the appointment of Missionaries and Schoolmasters, and added to these are Memoranda from the

\*Sir Edward Midwinter desires it to be known that these Lectures were prepared by his associates in the department of Archives of the S. P. G. A further lecture on the Carolinas will be printed in a later number.—EDITOR.

Governors, advice and appeals from the Rectors of New York and Colonial Members of the Society, addresses from Clerical Conventions, testimonials of candidates for Holy Orders, legal correspondence, and a variety of other communications, addressed to the Society, read to its Committee, filed away by its Secretaries, forgotten till age conferred a new value upon them.

It is notable that the fullest and perhaps, too, the most varied records are those from the State of New York.

In the seventeenth century it was generally held that the Bishop of London had the spiritual care of all the British subjects overseas. In 1696 Bishop Compton, anxious to know the true state of religion in America, appointed the far-sighted and energetic Dr. Bray his Commissary in Maryland. Dr. Bray returned deeply impressed with the lack of good books and well-qualified Clergy and did not rest until he had founded first the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to provide the former and then, in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to provide the latter.

Our Society's earliest letters are from Bishop Compton passing on petitions for help from American parishes.

At one of its early meetings it resolved to gather together accurate accounts of the needs of the Colonists and soon began to amass reports and appeals from those on the spot.

Vesey, the Rector of New York; Lord Cornbury, the Governor; Col. Dudley and Col. Heathcote all wrote of the needs of the New York parishes. Col. Heathcote is particularly vigorous in his account of the condition of the unshepherded people, whose manners he says, were so "intolerable" that

"having then the Command of the Militia, I sent an Order to all the Captains requiring them to Call their Men under Arms, & to Acquaint them y<sup>t</sup> in Case they would not in every Town agree amongst themselves to appoint Readers & pass the Sabbath in the best Manner they could till such times as they could be better Provided that they should every Sunday call their Companies under Arms, & spend the Day in Exercise, whereupon it was Unanimously Agreed on thro' the Country to make Choice of Readers."

Besides gathering up these appeals from men on the spot, the Society sent out its own investigator, the itinerant Missionary Keith, but his letters on New York are the least interesting of his reports and he was mainly concerned to endorse the appeals and extol the characters of Vesey and Lord Cornbury.

The first Missionary appointed by the Society to a New York

<sup>1</sup>A. Vol. 1. No. 182. (*Heathcote to the Society, 1704.*)

parish, Patrick Gordon, sent no reports home, as he died eight days after his arrival at his destination, Jamaica, on Long Island.

The first reports from a New York Missionary are those from John Bartow, of West Chester. Bartow had been intended for Rye, but West Chester had petitioned first and insisted on having him. He was excused by the Society on the representations of Col. Heathcote, who became a kind of patron to both parishes and wrote home fuller and more interesting accounts of them than the Missionaries.

The next earliest reports are from James Honyman, appointed to replace Gordon at Jamaica, but he was transferred to Rhode Island in 1704 and replaced by William Urquahart. In the same year John Thomas arrived at Hempstead, Long Island, and Enias Mackenzie at Richmond County, and George Muirson, first suggested as an assistant for Vesey, was appointed to Rye. These parishes and New Rochelle, where in 1708 the Society in response to repeated appeals adopted David Bondet, are the only parishes we were able to help till 1729.

But from 1701 onwards there is a great deal of correspondence about the Indian districts in the Valley of the Hudson, where the Society attempted to combine a mission to the Mohawks with the spiritual care of settlers and garrisons in Albany, Schenectady and Fort Hunter.

The Commissioners of Trade and Plantations recommended the Mohawks to the Archbishop of Canterbury before the Society's foundation. Soon after its foundation it was eagerly enquiring into means of supplying their needs.

In 1704 after much correspondence with the Dutch Pastors, who had already made some headway with the Indians, they appointed their own Missionary, Thoroughgood Moor. His reports, however, are full of discouragement, and he was soon succeeded by Thomas Barclay, who remained till 1716.

One of the persons suggested as a possible Missionary to the Indians was Elias Neau, a Frenchman settled in New York, who desired to become a member of the English Church. He declined the Indian appointment on account of the language, but begged to be made the Society's Catechist for the Negro Slaves in New York City. The Society was very much impressed by his accounts of the condition of the Slaves and readily appointed him to that work. At first there were difficulties with Vesey, as Neau continued his connection with the French Church, but soon Vesey and his assistant were both preaching on the necessity of giving the Negroes Christian knowledge, and Lord Cornbury also lent his powerful support.

Neau's voluminous reports on his school, with accounts of his



methods of teaching and his struggles against popular disapproval, are fascinating reading, but they are rather outside the scope of our present subject.

The immediate neighborhood of New York figures constantly in the Society's records from 1702 to 1776, since the Missions to West Chester and Rye were among the earliest and longest supplied, and there were also schoolmasters in two or three centres and the Negro Catechist and sometimes a schoolmaster in New York itself.

The Rectors of Trinity Church never needed help but they kept up a continual correspondence with the Society concerning the general condition and special needs of the Church in that Province. Similar letters were also received from the Presidents of King's College, New York (now Columbia University).

One frequent theme of the letters from this district was the need for sub-dividing the large and well populated Parishes. West Chester obtained a special Missionary for the French at New Rochelle. But for one reason and another the attempts to divide Rye were less successful. In 1741 the Missionary at Rye, James Wetmore, sent home a promising candidate for Holy Orders, Joseph Lamson, and wrote that

<sup>2</sup>"The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Societies Catechist and School master at the White Plains in this Parish, dyed the 9th day of October last: And as North Castle, Bedford, Manor of Cortlandt, and part of Greenwich & Stanford with Rye, Momadek & Scarsdale (which places I have served alone for many years) make too large a District for one Minister, I have proposed to my Parishioners in the several Parts of the Parish, to raise a salary by subscription for another Minister to supply and reside in the Northern part of the Parish."

On the way home he was taken prisoner by the French. But he eventually reached the Society, was ordained, and returned to Rye, where he helped Wetmore till 1747. He then transferred to Fairfield in Connecticut and served the Ridgefield people from thence. All the northern parts of the parish were still served from Rye, which remained a very large and difficult Mission.

The project of making another parish in this district was revived about 1764 by a Col. Philips, who wrote to the Society that,

<sup>3</sup>"In the Infancy of this Country a small part of the Manor of Philipsburg (the name of my Manor) was taken Into the Parish of West Chester, as there were not then more than five or six Families on the Lower Part of the said Manor but

<sup>2</sup>B. Vol. 19. No. 74. (*Wetmore to the Society, 1741.*)

<sup>3</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 255. (*Philips to the Society, 1764.*)

are now Increased to near 150 Families a Sufficient Number for a separate Parish. In hopes therefore of Erecting the Lower Part Into a Parish I was Induced to Join in a Petition with my Tenants and some Free-holders about 140 in number to the Honourable Assembly of the Province Praying for leave to bring In a bill to separate the Lower Part of the Manor of Philipsburg Commonly called Jonkers from the Parish of West Chester by & with the Consent of the said Parish and to Erect the Lower Part of my Manor into a separate Parish and to tax us in the Annual sum of £100 Currency for the Support of the Minister."

Their bill, however, had been thrown out in Committee and as his people were still subject to West Chester taxes, he appealed to the Society for a Missionary. They appointed one immediately who stayed three years but unfortunately quarreled with Col. Philips over a glebe. His successor was more amiable and better provided, for he writes during the war time:

"The Glebe Land of this Mission contains one hundred and twenty acres of such Land as will produce annually, Bread, Corn, Meat & Cyder sufficient for my Family (12 in No.)."

In 1767 the Society had a Missionary in Salem on the borders of Connecticut (which was counted amongst New York parishes) who wrote of the need of yet another Church "south of Cortland and west of Ridgefield" for the sake of "30 Families of Church People besides a Considerable Number in Places very contiguous" who could not reach either of the Churches he served.

The Schoolmaster's reports are mostly very brief and to the point. But the Schoolmasters at West Chester, at Rye and at White Plains in Rye Parish appear to have been greatly valued by successive Missionaries, and when in 1761 and 1762 Rye was left for some time without a Minister, the Schoolmaster, Timothy Wetmore (son of James Wetmore) kept up the services as well as he could, and kept up also regular reports from the Parish. During Seabury's incumbency of the West Chester Mission the school there was for some years served by his brother, Nathaniel Seabury.

Like West Chester and Rye, Jamaica and Hempstead, Long Island were supplied for the whole period of the Society's activity in New York. The Missionaries at Jamaica served Newtown and Flushing as well, though there were one or two attempts to make Newtown a separate parish. Urquahart, the second Missionary, remained at

<sup>3</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 255. (*Philips to the Society, 1764.*)

<sup>4</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 21. (*Babcock to the Society, 1776.*)

<sup>5</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 49. (*Townsend to the Society, 1767.*)

Jamaica only until 1708. The letters of Thomas Poyer and Thomas Colgan, who held the Mission successively from 1708 to 1755, are often interesting, but I will pass on to quote the account of the building of Flushing Church, which appears in Seabury's report for 1761.

6<sup>th</sup> "In my last I informed you that the People of Flushing were finishing their Church. The severe Cold Weather, the past Winter obliged them to suspend the Work some months, but they have now resumed it, and are likely to complete it in a short Time, together with a hansom Steeple, which was begun the last Autumn. The principal Expence of this Work is defrayed by Mr. John Aspinwall & Mr. Thomas Grennab, two Gentlemen who have lately retired there from New York; Mr. Aspinwall had besides made them a present of a very fine Bell of about five hundred Weight."

Hempstead was served by its first Missionary, Thomas, till 1724. He was succeeded by Robert Jenney, who stayed eighteen years and was followed by Samuel Seabury, senior, who stayed till his death, twenty-two years later, a remarkable series of long incumbencies. The parish of Hempstead regularly included Oyster Bay and until Missions were set up first at Brookhaven and then at Huntington, the Missionaries at Hempstead did what they could for the scattered families of "Church People" in Suffolk County, the only part of New York Province where there was no Parish established by Act of Assembly. The letters from Hempstead are full of the needs of these people and the efforts of successive Missionaries to reach them.

After one short-lived attempt in 1724, a Mission was definitely established at Brookhaven in 1729. The Missionaries appointed to it did their best to go over the whole county, preaching and holding services in as many townships as possible, but it was a very large district to cover. In 1741 Isaac Browne reported that he had

7<sup>th</sup> "lately been at the East End of this Island out 50 or 60 miles Eastward of Brookhaven the town in which I live, when passing through several small towns and villages, I preached six or seven times in the space of eight Days to pretty large Auditorys and at a place called East Hampton to a large congregation in the Meeting House which is a large Building consisting of two tiers of Gallerys one above another and the whole seemed to be full from the Bottom to the Top and I do sincerely believe there never was so glorious a prospect of increasing our Church upon Long Island as at this Day if a Missionary could be sent among them."

<sup>6</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 157. (*Seabury to the Society, 1761.*)

<sup>7</sup>B. Vol. 9. No. 74. (*Browne to the Society, 1741.*)



The Missionaries at Hempstead continued to help, and it was in 1759 that Seabury, senior, wrote:

<sup>8</sup>"I beg leave here to observe that if there was an Itinerant Missionary on Long Island, to have his Chief Residence at Huntington, where they have purchased a parsonage House and Glebe of Several acres of Good Land. To visit the South Side of Long Island & to assist the missionaries upon their occasional absences he might be very (useful) to ye pious Designs of ye Honble. Society."

A Mission was established at Huntingdon in 1761. The people having erected a Church and procured a glebe, sent home a candidate for Holy Orders, but a difficulty arose over some legal detail which upset their plans, so they persuaded James Greateon, a clergyman from Boston, to settle with them and the Society to appoint him their Missionary. His reports indicate a very happy relation with his parishioners, but he suffered from constant ill health and died in 1773.

Schools were established in Jamaica and Hempstead in 1739 and in 1763 another at Flushing, but the schoolmaster's letters do not add much to the Missionary's reports.

Staten Island, or Richmond County as they called it, was served by its first Missionary, Mackenzie, till 1721. The Mission was then vacant till William Harrison was appointed ten years later, after which it was constantly supplied until 1777. Judging by the vividness of their letters the most vigorous incumbents were Jonathan Arnold and Richard Charlton. The latter served the Mission from 1747 till the War of Independence, and we shall return again to his reports, only remarking now his efforts to revive the school, which was first started in 1742 but existed only intermittently.

Jonathan Arnold, who was Missionary from 1739 to 1743, is chiefly remarkable for his efforts to reach the people on the mainland nearby who were without pastors of any denomination. He told the Society that he preached

<sup>9</sup>"Every fourth Sunday at Newark, and frequent Lectures on Week days, where there is an Encouraging prospect of gathering a Considerable Large Church, the Number of attendants and Communicants being over Doubled within these Twelve Months, Especially from Second River, a Place of Great Note about three Miles from Newark: from where comes Considerable part of the Congregation, some of Which are Persons of ye greatest worth and Distinction of any in These Parts."

<sup>8</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 168. (*Seabury, Senior, to the Society, 1759.*)

<sup>9</sup>B. Vol. 10. No. 79. (*Arnold to the Society, 1741.*)

His efforts bore such fruit that in 1743 John Schuyler and George Lasting are writing to Vesey on behalf of the inhabitants to inform him that

<sup>10</sup>"The Roof of this Church is now raised, the Church is of Hewn Stone and the finest has been seen in These Parts."

and to ask his support in preferring their Petition to the Society for a Missionary of their own, in which they represented that

<sup>11</sup>"The Reverend Mr. Arnold has faithfully & constantly Discharged the Duty enjoyned by the Society in officiating at the times by them appointed and has perform'd servis several times & preached at Second River at the Desire of the Members there and his Labors by God's Grace have been Successful and the Church Encreased during his ministering as likewise by the Labors of the Revd. Mr. Vaughan who have worke Enough to do in their respective Parishes & can't Possibly attend us as often as the Church Servis requires. Several Proselytes have been added to the Church from Second River new Barbadoes Neck & Acquacknong as well as Dutch as English Dissenters who attend constantly at our Church when Divine Servis is perform'd some of whome live at the Distance of Ten miles from the Church."

Such was the foundation of the parish of Newark.

We have already mentioned Thomas Barclay, the Society's second Missionary to the Mohawks. In 1712 William Andrews arrived to help him in the care of the settlers and garrisons at Albany, Schenectady and Fort Hunter. Andrews remained till 1719 and then the Mission was unfilled till 1728. After that date it was almost constantly supplied with one, sometimes two, Missionaries, but this was by no means a sufficient staff.

Project after project was mooted for a more satisfactory means of reaching the Indians. The most hopeful plan was the training of Indian schoolmasters. John Jacob Oel, one of the Dutch Pastors who were of great help in this Mission, rejoices in a long Latin letter to the Society in 1762 that

<sup>12</sup>"an Indian Youth of sufficient education has been stirred up by Divine Providence in this very camp, who can write and read elegantly the Indian Language and is moved by a great fervour to propagate the doctrine so that already, not long ago, he said to me that he had more than thirty scholars."

<sup>10</sup>B. Vol. 12. No. 31. (*Residents to Vesey, 1743.*)

<sup>11</sup>B. Vol. 12. Nos. 32 and 33. (*Petition to the Society from Newark, 1744.*)

<sup>12</sup>Translation of B. Vol. 3. No. 311. (*Oel to the Society, 1762.*)

The European settlers were very thankful for the Missionaries. Henry Barclay writes in 1739 of

<sup>13</sup>"a small Congregation of Irish People added to my care who are lately settled near Fort Hunter, they seem to be a very sober Industrious People and exceedingly pleased to have me so great a part of the Year amongst them, and unless War break out with France I am very like to have a Considerable Congregation there in a few Years."

Like the Indians, however, many of the Europeans were nomadic, the second William Andrews writes in 1771:

<sup>14</sup>"My Church is particularly more filled in the Winter time, as several of them are Indian Traders or Batteauxmen, who, when the Mohawk River is open, proceed in those kind of Vessels to Fort Detroit & even to Mishillimackamac in Sloops, which is reckon'd upwards of one thousand miles from here."

As the district became more settled the need for another Missionary became urgent. Sir William Johnston, the Indian Commissioner and a very energetic Colonial Member of the Society, wrote in 1767:

<sup>15</sup>"The present state of the Church of England particularly hereabouts, must give concern to all sincere Professors of that Communion and I fear that it has in some degree suffered thro' want of knowledge of this interior part of ye Country. The North, and North-West parts of the Province of New York comprehend an extensive Tract of Country, which in general in point of soil yields to none on the Continent, and is much superior on that head as well as from the Salubrity of ye Air, to the Neighbouring Posts. It commands two important communications, the one by a River and Lakes from Albany Northward to Montreal, the other Westward by the Mohawk River to the five great Lakes, and the interior most valuable parts of the Indian Country, which River is already settled in length above one Hundred Miles West of Albany, with these advantages there can be no doubt of its becoming in a few years a very thickly settled and valuable Country. At present there are good Churches of Stone erected at Albany, Schenectady, my village of Johnstown and that of the Mohawks. . . . The Church which I have at my own expence erected at Johnstown I have already pointed out the necessity of, as well with regard to Indians as Whites, I hope that will be soon settled

<sup>13</sup>B. Vol. 7. No. 139. (*Barclay to the Society, 1739.*)

<sup>14</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 6. (*Andrews to the Society, 1771.*)

<sup>15</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 88. (*Johnston to the Society, 1767.*)

and that the Society will agree to a Schoolmaster there, in which case one shall be procured here."

Actually Johnstown was only supplied from 1771 to 1773. The lower parts of the Hudson Valley were served by itinerant ministers; the Society did not help there for some time. From 1729 to 1733 they had a mission centered at New Windsor, but in 1744 Vesey wrote, introducing a candidate for Holy Orders, Hezekiah Watkins:

<sup>16</sup>"his Intention is to settle at a place called the Highlands and to Officiate in two Adjoining Counties called Ulster and Orange, if the Venerable Society shall be pleased to Appoint him thereto. He has Resided there during the last Winter, and read Prayers and Sermons to the People and they seem well Pleased with Each Other. . . . Indeed there was formerly a Mission and Missionary sent by the Society to New Windsor near the Place where this Gent<sup>a</sup> proposes to settle to which Mr. Charlton first, and afterwards Mr. KillPatrick were Appointed, but being Confined to that Place in which were very few Inhabitants, they could not be Supported, but as Mr. Watkins is to Officiate at three Several Districts in the two Counties, & the Country now settling very fast, I am in hopes that they will Punctually make Good, what they have Engaged. Indeed that Mission would not be agreeable to any Gent<sup>a</sup> bred at home because the People of New Settlements Generally live very meanly, but Mr. Watkins, having been bred in the Country, I find that Sort of Life will not be Disagreeable to him."

Apropos of that last sentence, you are, I suppose, aware that many of the Society's best Missionaries were "bred in the Country"; indeed, the excellent supply of candidates and the great dangers of their passage home for Ordination were among the chief arguments in their constant appeals for an American Bishop. Vesey's reference to the support of the Mission is also noticeable. The Society could never have given so many grants if it had ever undertaken the whole upkeep of each Mission. It required some effort at self-support, even from such districts as this, as an earnest that there was a sufficient Congregation. Watkins was appointed immediately and served the district for twenty years. His preaching journeys extended as far as Warwick. Towards the end, however, the work became too hard for him, Samuel Auchmuty, Rector of New York, writes in 1765 on behalf of <sup>17</sup>"Cadwallader Golden, Esq.," who <sup>17</sup>"lives at about 90 miles from this City at one Corner of Mr. Watkins Mission," that <sup>17</sup>"an itinerant Missionary in those parts is extremely wanted, as the

<sup>16</sup>B. Vol. 13. No. 207. (*Vesey to the Society, 1744.*)

<sup>17</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 14. (*Auchmuty to the Society, 1765.*)

Country settles fast," and <sup>17</sup>"There is no Clergyman of England, except poor Mr. Watkins, whose bad state of Health has rendered him incapable of any Service nearer than 80 miles."

Two years after Watkins' death John Sayre succeeded him in New Windsor (by then called Newburgh).

In 1761 John Beardsley had been appointed an itinerant Missionary in Dutchess County on the other side of the river. In 1765 he settled at Poughkeepsie but continued to serve other townships from there. In 1768 he reported to

<sup>18</sup>"the Honourable Society, that through many Difficulties we have at last erected a Church at Fishkill about 15 miles from Poughkeepsie (a principle part of this Mission) and we expect to open it in less than Two months from the date of this. But as the Congregation have exerted themselves exceedingly in promising a glebe and building this Church, if ye Society be so kind as to encourage them with a bible and Common prayer Book it will ever be acknowledged with a becoming gratitude."

I wish I had the time to read you more of these reports, to illustrate the struggles of the scattered congregations, the homely politics of the well settled parishes, but I can only give you some extracts from the last of the letters.

Each of the Society's Missionaries at his Ordination in England had taken the usual oath of allegiance to the King. When the Colonies declared for Independence they found themselves bound to the unpopular side. Many of them had been "bred in the Country," some of them had explained to the Society the just grievances of the Americans, but, like the English Nonjurors in 1688, who can hardly have regretted the absconding James yet refused to have a hand in *our* "Glorious Revolution," they unhesitatingly refused to countenance armed revolt or to cease their "prayers for the King." The War of Independence is vividly reflected in their reports.

New York itself and its immediate neighbourhood were much disturbed by fighting and Seabury from West Chester and Charles Inglis, the Assistant Curate and later Rector of New York, sent detailed accounts of their experiences. Seabury's parish was early the scene of fighting. In 1776 it was occupied by the Congress troops, his Church was closed, and when

<sup>19</sup>"At length two Ships of War came into the Sound, & took their Station within Sight of my House. Immediately the

<sup>17</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 14. (*Auchmuty to the Society, 1765.*)

<sup>18</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 26. (*Beardsley to the Society, 1768.*)

<sup>19</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 190. (*Seabury to the Society, 1776.*)



whole Coast was guarded, that no one might go to them. Within a few Days the Troops landed on Long Island, & the Rebels were defeated. A Body of them then took Post at the Heights near Kingsbridge, in my Parish & began to throw up works. Another Body fixed themselves within two Miles of my House."

After a period in hiding he escaped to the Royal Army and when they advanced

<sup>19</sup>"as I was perfectly acquainted with the Country about West Chester, I have Reason to believe that the Accounts I gave to General Clinton were of real service to the Army."

Meanwhile, New York city was captured and re-captured, and after its re-occupation by the Royalists, Inglis writes:

<sup>20</sup>"Early on Monday Morning the 16th I returned to the City which exhibited a most melancholly appearance being deserted and pillaged."

The retreating army had

<sup>20</sup>"carried off all the Bells in the City—partly to convert them into Cannon—partly to prevent notice being given speedily of the Destruction they meditated against the City by Fire, when it began. . . . Several Rebels secreted themselves in the Houses to execute the diabolical purpose of destroying the City. On the Saturday following an opportunity presented itself; for the weather being very dry and the wind blowing fresh, they set fire to the City in several places at the same Time, between 12 & 1 o'clock in the morning. The Fire raged with the utmost Fury, & its destructive Progress consumed about one thousand Houses, or a fourth part of the whole City."

He laments Trinity Church,

<sup>20</sup>"a venerable Edifice, had an excellent Organ which cost £850 Sterl: and was otherwise ornamented."

and besides the Church itself

<sup>20</sup>"the Rector's House & the Charity School, the two latter large expensive Buildings were burned."

<sup>19</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 190. (*Seabury to the Society, 1776.*)

<sup>20</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 72. (*Inglis to the Society, 1776.*)

Moreover,

<sup>20</sup>"St. Paul's Church & King's College had shared the same Fate, being directly in the line of Fire, had I not been providentially on the Spot, & sent a number of people with water on the Roof of each. Our Houses are all covered with Cedar Shingles, which makes Fire very dangerous."

Long Island and Staten Island usually enjoyed greater security. The latter seems very aloof in 1775 when Charlton writes:

<sup>21</sup>"I am happy in acquainting you that in the midst of tumult, confusion, I may add distraction, that the people of this Island have hitherto lived in a peaceable and tranquil State, having no connection with congresses or committees; and tho' a few Republican malevolent Spirits made a late attempt to have deputies appointed, in order to join with others in the choice of delegate to be sent to the ensuing Congress next month: yet upon the 11th instant when the main body of the County met to take the Sentiments of the people when the Loyalists filed off to the right, and they, who had an inclination to chuse deputies, were desired to sheer off to the left, *not one Goat appeared.*"

Though Jamaica was less fortunate when Joshua Bloomer reported

<sup>22</sup>"Last week, a Number of Troops by order of the Continental Congress Disarmed this Township & Hempstead & carried off about Twenty of the Principal Persons of Mr. Cutings & my congregations, prisoners to Philadelphia, they being accused of opposing the present measures."

Occupation by the Royalists was in itself no unmixed blessing. Charlton's glebe was apparently a strategic position. Already, during the French war in 1761, he had had cause to represent to General Amherst that

<sup>23</sup>"The Encampment of his Majesty's Troops under your Excellency's command upon Ducksbury Glebe is very detrimental to y<sup>r</sup> Petitioner."

and then it had been three years before he could write:

<sup>24</sup>"I thank God I can now inform the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Society that Ducksbury Glebe is inclosed."

<sup>20</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 72. (*Inglis to the Society, 1776.*)

<sup>21</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 97. (*Charlton to the Society, 1775.*)

<sup>22</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 127. (*Bloomer to the Society, 1776.*)

<sup>23</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 66. (*Charlton's copy of his Petition to General Amhurst, 1761.*)

<sup>24</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 75. (*Charlton to the Society, 1764.*)

now in 1776 he writes that the English troops keep them safe, but adds:

<sup>25</sup>"I submit with patience to the Calamities, the necessary attendants of especially a Civil War. Poor Ducksbury Glebe is laid waste."

The Missionaries on the Hudson valley found difficulty in communicating at all with the Society. There are many gaps in their correspondence, many duplicates sent lest the first copy should not arrive. In 1776 Beardsley of Poughkeepsie reported:

<sup>26</sup>"since last July our Churches in dutches county have been shut, many of my brethren in exile; and the Escape I have made is at the hazard of whatever property I left."

Stuart at the Mohawks Mission was not heard of from 1775 to 1781, when he wrote from Montreal that

<sup>27</sup>"At the Commencement of the unhappy contest betwixt Great Britain and her Colonies I acquainted the Society of the firm Resolve I had on your Fidelity, and Loyalty of my Congregation; which has justified my Opinion. For the faithful Mohawks rather than swerve from their Allegiance chuse rather to abandon their Dwellings and Property & accordingly went in a Body to Genl. Burgoyne & afterwards were obliged to shelter in Canada, while they remained at Fort Hunter I continued to officiate as usual."

But after they had left, his Church had been closed and he had been on parole in Schenectady till he was allowed to cross into Canada.

New York became a refuge for the Missionaries driven out of New England and the Jerseys. Inglis writes of their condition in general:

<sup>28</sup>"The Missionaries & other Refugee Clergymen who have taken Sanctuary here, have their Difficulties. All of them have had Chaplaincies assigned to them except Mr. Leaming of Norwalk, Mr. Sayre of Fairfield, Mr. Greaves of New London, Mr. James Sayre of this Province & Mr. Duncan."

They did their best to serve those parishes they could reach. Walters (a member of the Society) writes, quite typically:

<sup>29</sup>"It is now more than two years that I have resided in this

<sup>25</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 101. (*Charlton to the Society, 1776.*)

<sup>26</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 39. (*Beardsley to the Society, 1776.*)

<sup>27</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 204. (*Stuart to the Society, 1781.*)

<sup>28</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 72. (*Inglis to the Society, 1779.*)

<sup>29</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 346. (*Walters to the Society, 1778.*)



City & neighbourhood. The first summer was spent in Brooklyn where I occasionally officiated to a small congregation of English who obtained for this purpose an order from the Commandant at New York to make use of the Dutch Church whenever the Dutch People had no service in it themselves which was as often as three Sundays in five. This Summer the Rev. Mr. Sears has officiated there in the same manner & still continues to do so. Next I shall probably reside far down upon Long Island, & then I propose to be a frequent visitant to the Society's vacant Mission of Huntingdon, and the people of that neighbourhood who are at present totally destitute of all publick worship."

Refugee Schoolmasters also were eager to teach wherever they could. While in 1779 Inglis writes that the Charity School in the City

<sup>30</sup>"is in a very flourishing Way . . . the Children are very regular, & make surprising Progress in their Learning."

adding that

<sup>30</sup>"Mr. Bull regularly Catechises the Negroes on Sunday after the Evening Service; and the Rev. Mr. Walters, a worthy Clergyman from Boston generally gives them a Lecture, or Sermon at the same Time."

When peace was signed and the Independence of the States accepted by Great Britain, a definition of the Missionaries' position became necessary. John Sayre wrote from New York:

<sup>31</sup>"Such of the Clergy as are in the service of the Society will naturally look up to them for advice, under such new & difficult circumstances. For my own part, I am clearly of opinion that the Country Congregations in most parts of North America will be unable to support Ministers without assistance from the Society; and that will probably need to be larger than heretofore in many Missions."

Others wondered if a Bishopric could now by any means be established.

Through the years of uncertainty immediately after the peace the Society did continue to pay their own Missionaries. But Parliament, which had consistently thwarted all their efforts for an American Bishopric, stood in the way of their giving any help to Seabury. Soon after his Consecration and return to America they felt themselves, after "most serious Consideration," forced to hold that they were

<sup>30</sup>B. Vol. 2. No. 72. (*Inglis to the Society, 1779.*)

<sup>31</sup>B. Vol. 3. No. 359. (*Sayre to the Society, 1782.*)

<sup>321</sup>"obliged, by their Charter, to apply the subscription and other contributions by them received *to the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under the Dominion of the Crown of Great Britain*, and being accountable for such application, (they were bound to give account to the Lord Chancellor) they regret the unhappy events which confine their labors to the Colonies remaining under His Majesty's sovereignty. It is so far from their thoughts to alienate their affections from their brethren of the Church of England, now under another Government, that they look back with comfort at the good they have done for many years past, in propagating our holy religion, as it is professed by the established Church of England; and it is their earnest wish and prayer, that their zeal may continue to bring forth the fruit they aimed at, of pure religion and virtue; and that the true members of our Church, under whatever civil government they live, may not cease to be kindly affectioned towards us."

<sup>322</sup>*Society's Resolution quoted from the Society's Annual Report, 1786.*

## II.

### NEW JERSEY

I OWE it both to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, and to myself, to explain exactly the purport of my lecture; for the double honour bestowed upon me lays upon me a double duty. I have the great honour of sharing in your hospitality on this notable occasion in the history of New Jersey diocese: and the honour, which I can scarcely call less great, of representing the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the link that draws us together today. To both my intent must be made perfectly plain. It may well be that you expect from me an exposition of history far more precise, reasoned and weighty than I am able to give you; while for my part I must freely state that none can be more conscious than myself of the deficiencies of the following pages.

At Westminster we have been working, as it were, at the blind end of a bridge, unaware of what lay on the further side: we know that you have great stores of local history, we know too that they have been worked on with industry and ability by your historians both local and national: what we do not know is the extent of those stores, nor of that detailed research. Things plain and understandable on this side of the Atlantic are obscure and indefinite in the muniment room of Tufton Street; chronological, autobiographical, but above all geographical minutiae perpetually hold up the telling of the simplest tale, and we know that we must frequently have fallen into errors palpably absurd to those who dwell on the spot. For these mistakes I beg your lenient judgment.

On the other hand, you may be unaware of the conditions in which we work. For many reasons, in which finance bulks largely, it is only within the last two years that the archives of the S. P. G. have begun to receive attention and care; for years they have lain almost undisturbed in the strong-room of the Society, their contents a mystery, their value unexplored. The matter has now been put upon a sound and sure footing; a splendid archive room has been equipped through the generosity of the Pilgrim Trust, funds and workers assured to a limited extent and for a limited period. But the field is vast: some one hundred and sixty thousand documents there await, in lesser or greater degree, identification, classification, indexing, cataloguing and study. The American manuscripts,

precious though they be, are only a fraction of the whole, which covers every country in the British Empire, and many outside it. Work on those manuscripts, in preparation for my visit to you, though proceeding with enthusiasm and haste, has necessarily extended over a very few months and been subject to interruption. It has been carried out mainly by workers who make no claim to specialized historical scholarship. Far from exhausting the possibilities of the papers, we only begin to appreciate the richness of their range.

It is possible and probable, that here in New Jersey you, through study of the copies in the Library of Congress, know much more than we know of the light reflected by our papers on your local history during colonial days. You no doubt possess valuable stores of archives that corroborate, amplify or correct the information there contained. With such knowledge I have neither the wish nor the ability to compete. My sole aim can be put with the utmost simplicity. It is to present an account plain and admittedly superficial of the rise and progress of certain of the colonial parishes of this pleasant province from the date of the incorporation of the Society in 1701 until the War of Independence put an end to that era of co-operation, as far as that history can be reconstructed from the Society's archives. It is on those archives alone that these notes are based. We have been careful to consult no outside sources of any kind, to attempt no writing of history; well-known events, outstanding personalities have been ignored, in favour of the little-known, the humble, the obscure. The single and only source of the information presented in these pages is the documents in the Society's muniment room. Such American documents fall into four groups: the "A" manuscripts, which are contemporary copies of letters received, of which the originals may or may not be in existence; the "B" manuscripts, original letters received, the twenty-five volumes of which have been copied by the Library of Congress; the Journal (or Minutes of the Proceedings of the Society); the annual Reports.

May I be allowed to repeat that every aspect and implication of these papers has of set purpose been passed over in this sketch; it is solely a survey of historical facts. If these facts are familiar to you, I must deplore my lack of originality while venturing the reminder that familiarity cannot detract from truth! I encourage myself with the hope that at least this recital may cause some who hear it to take up again the study of the sources of your parochial history in the libraries with which you are magnificently endowed, and to which we are proud to have contributed some of the unique treasures of the S. P. G.

The study of the development of colonial parishes from the sources

available at Tufton Street is a complex matter—complex for reasons residing not merely in the nature of the material but in the actual course of events in the colonies. The limits of parishes were often indefinite; there were far more parishes than clergy, or perhaps (more accurately) there were far more congregations than there were clergy to minister in them, or far more places where churches were struggling to grow than were supplied by the missionaries from England. As a result, a parish well-served with what seemed a progressive church life, might at the death of its missionary be left for years without a successor to him and relapse at length into a state of confusion and neglect as great as in its early years. Or two places hitherto combined in one mission, might for a variety of reasons split apart and a new series of combinations be set up which grievously perplex the later chroniclers: Amboy, Piscataway, New Brunswick, Elizabethtown, present to the uninitiated relationships as involved as any of those established or re-established in Europe by post-war pacts and treaties. It is impossible to determine the precise date of the foundation of many of the parishes. Churches built by the first generations of settlers fell to ruin, or population shifted, or church life was merged in dissent, or services were suspended for years. This confusion finds its counterpart in the manuscripts of the Society; the preservation of letters was, broadly speaking, haphazard; connected series are interspersed by stray letters from other correspondents, or cease abruptly for no apparent reason; much may have been lost at sea; much by careless handling at the English end (for the science of archives was unknown to the eighteenth century!); some by chance methods of binding in the nineteenth. Hence an account of almost any one colonial parish must contain gaps which patient research may hope to fill in part, but never in full.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel took up its work in New Jersey, as in the other established colonies, in 1702 and remained there till 1785. The number of missionaries sent by it to the province was forty-four. The money disbursed by the Society in the first seventy-five years of its existence amounted to a quarter of a million pounds; it was a considerable sum when measured in terms of contemporary value and population, and America received all but a fraction of it. Much care was taken to sift the sheep from the goats among those who applied for missionary appointments; the poverty of the lower clergy in England was so great and their social position so degraded that naturally some were candidates whose only motive was an ardent desire to escape from existing conditions. But such had no hope of acceptance. Testimonials and a personal attendance on the Board were essential preliminaries: the candidate



was put through a careful examination and the final test of preaching a sermon. The Society set itself the aim that

Such as go over into those parts for the propagation of the Gospel, should be men of solidity and good experience, as well as otherwise qualified with good learning and good natural parts, and especially exemplary in piety, and of a discreet zeal, humble and meek, able to endure the toil and fatigue they must expect to go through, both in mind and body, not raw young men, nor yet very old.

The selected candidate was provided with the Bishop of London's bounty, namely fifty pounds for traveling expenses, and fifteen pounds was paid out to furnish a library for each new mission. The amount of his salary depended on local conditions and the ability of his parishioners to contribute to his support; thirty pounds, or even seventy, a year might be the Society's subsidy, though the usual figure for a missionary was fifty pounds, for a catechist ten, for a lay schoolmaster twenty or thirty. Small as these sums appear, they often formed the missionary's sole support: the expenses of the voyage, especially in the case of men with families, frequently outran the allowance so that he arrived in America penniless or already in debt; local contributions were often precarious both in amount and in punctuality, for they fluctuated according to the prosperity of the inhabitants or the value of local currency or the personal popularity of the clergyman. Penury was the frequent lot of the missionary, distressing indigence that of his widow and children. Financial difficulties present the one constant element in the correspondence of its agents with the Society; references to the bills by which salaries were paid occur in almost every letter. The value of the annual grant, payable in sterling, cannot be exaggerated, either to the individual or to the cause of the Episcopal Church in general; because of it the Committee of your Sesquicennial Celebration is able to print in its "Historical Sketch" words which we gratefully acknowledge—

The Church in New Jersey owes its existence and extension mainly if not exclusively to the initiative taken by the S. P. G.

New Jersey made its first appearance in the records of the Society in the annual Report of 1703/4. In New Jersey, East and West (the statement runs),

Here is no church or School establish'd by Act of Assembly, either in the Eight English Towns, or Two Dutch: But a considerable number of People that were Quakers etc: are

in a good Disposition to join in Communion with the Church of England Ministry.

Demands were made for ministers, schools, libraries. One minister was needed at

the Falls in Shrewsbury, where Colonel Morris is building a Church and will endow it.

One at Amboy, where they are building another Church.

One at Hopewell, where they are building another.

One in Monmouth County.

One for St. Mary's at Burlington, with some utensils for the Church.

One for Crosswicks.

Statements of varying detail but similar substance recur for many years. In the following year it ran as above, with the addition

particularly in the East part, and County of Monmouth, where are 4 Congregations gather'd.

The Society's information as to conditions in these "plantations" was mainly drawn from the reports of two men who need no introduction to a New Jersey audience, George Keith and John Talbot. Their names shine as stars in the New Jersey skies, for on their zeal, perseverance, devotion, diligence and unceasing toil were laid the foundations of the Church. Keith was Scotsman born, Presbyterian bred; he became a Quaker and travelled extensively in New Jersey and Pennsylvania in the last decade of the seventeenth century. Returning to England in 1694, and receiving Holy Orders in the Church in 1700, he was singularly fitted to become the first missionary of the Society to whose service he was admitted in February, 1702, and in which he remained "two years and twenty weeks." John Talbot, who was already acquainted with America and was chaplain of the "Centurion" in which Keith returned to America, was inspired by the older man's enthusiasm; on reaching America he left the ship and threw in his lot with Keith, entering thus the Society's employ and taking the first step in the dedication of his life to the service of the colony. Bound by an affection as of father and son, they set out on a missionary tour

through 9 or 10 Provinces between New England and North Carolina

which is fully described in the Journal published by Keith on his return to England. We will rather draw for information upon the

private letters of Keith and Talbot, to the Society or to other correspondents. They reached New Jersey in October, 1702. In the following year Keith wrote to the Bishop of London:

The main thing of importance I have att present to write to you here, is to tell you of the extreme desire that people have in several parts where we have travelld to have Church of England Ministers sent to them, particularly in East Jersey, att Amboy, and in the Woods, about where Colonel Morris lives, and att Burlington in West Jersey. . . .

My Lord, there is an exceeding great desire in diverse places that your Ldship w<sup>d</sup> send over pious and able Ministers to them, both in Long Island, E. Jersey and W. Jersey and also in diverse places. . . .

Colonel Morris, Governor of East Jersey, sent more than one exhaustive account of the province to corroborate and support Keith. "We want," he said,

A supply of Missionaries, and if I might advise they should not be young Men but Pious, whose Gravity as well as Argument should persuade. This is a Country in which a very nice Conduct is necessary, and Requires men of years and Experience to manage; in New Jersey 3 or 4 Missionaries would do great Service, one at Burlington, one at Amboy, one in the County of Monmouth where Mr. Keith has taken much Pains, and the Labours of Mr. Innis a Non-juror has gather'd a Large Congregation in which there are about 20 Communicants and very often 200 or More Auditors. . . . there are 3 or 4 Dutch Towns in Jersey who are under the Direction of the Dutch Minister of N. York.

The Churchmen among the settlers were themselves full of zeal; greatly encouraged by the presence of the English missionaries and by the formation of the Society they set enthusiastically about the building of churches, despite scanty means and materials, in hopes of a speedy supply of clergymen. They were supported by Talbot, who was able to report in 1703:

Here are four or five (Churches) going forward now in this Province and the next. That att Burlington is almost finished.

A still more powerful ally was Governor Nicholson, to whose memory a sincere tribute must be paid wherever the early history of this church is discussed. "America has not his like," declared Talbot, and Keith wrote:



In all these new erectings of Churches, in these Northern Parts Governor Nicholson has largely contributed and is a Mighty promoter and encourager of them by his Letters and Advice as well as his Purse, as not only att Boston (etc.) . . . but att Burlington in West Jersey.

The promise of these early years was fulfilled only in part. A supply of missionaries was slow in forthcoming, for everywhere the need was desperate, and New Jersey was only one out of a dozen provinces with whose needs the infant Society had to grapple, while it was engaged at the same time in arousing the conscience of churchmen in England. Talbot, stationed at Burlington now the tour was over, and bereft of the counsel and help of Keith, who had returned to England, found himself almost single-handed with "the care of all the Jerseys" heavy upon him. Owing to political intrigue or financial hardship, other clergymen had betaken themselves to Maryland and elsewhere. The Bishop of London, whose jurisdiction since the time of Charles I had been extended to cover the colonial churches, brought this fact to the notice of the Society:

there is likely to be a very great desertion in those parts unless speedy care be taken to prevent it:

but he realized the double aspect of the case, that sections of the colonists themselves were ready to go to any length to prevent the establishment of a state church;

As to the Establishment in the Jerseys, you know what Establishment or rather none at all, is there for the Churches; at least so precarious at present, till those wild people are a little better settled in their minds, that they are by no means to be prest to any such thing, without running the hazard of quite loosing them.

Establishment was not a question of practical politics: a supply of missionaries was; it filled the minds of men on the spot. Bass, secretary of the province, writing in 1709 from Burlington, spoke of

these dark Corners of the Earth . . . Hopewell, Amboy, Elizabeth Town in New Jersey are all left as Sheep without a Shepherd none of the Missionarys remaining in this Province but the Rev. and Worthy Mr. Talbot.

Talbot himself felt that a task beyond even his powers was laid upon him; though good results sprang from his preaching he was forced constantly to itinerate and could linger in none of the places whose need was sore. He cried:

We Christians in Jersey are most miserable, we have Churches now but no Ministers to open them:

and complained bitterly that if he had known "neither Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon, Lecturer nor Catechist" was to be sent,

I would never have put the people in these parts to the charge and trouble of building churches; nay, now they must be stalls or stables for Quakers horses when they come to market or meeting.

Lack of missionaries, lack of schoolmasters, lack of money, lack of books—this is the unceasing burden of the letters, driven home by language direct, passionate and unfaltering.

It had been better not to have put those poor people to the Charge of building Churches than have nobody to supply them, I can't get so much as a Reader here for any of them and it wear to save their Souls. You that live at home at safe and plenty, little do you know what they and we do bear and suffer here, and how many thousand Souls are legally lost whilst they at home are legally supplying them.

Equally convincing in tenor if less literary in expression were the appeals that reached the London committee from the forlorn congregations themselves. An example from Salem must stand for many:

. . . our Indigence is excessive, and our Destitution deplorable, having never been so bless'd, as to have a Person settled among us, to dispence the August ordinances of Religion; insomuch that even the name of it is almost lost among us; the Virtue and energy of it over Men's Lives, almost expireing, we won't say forgotten, for that implies previous knowledge of it . . . Our condicon is truly lamentable, and deserving Christian Compassion. And to whom can we apply ourselves, but to that Venerable Corporation, whose Zeal . . . hath preserved so many in these Colonys . . . ?

Step by step for three generations these wants were gradually supplied. There were never enough missionaries, there were never sufficient funds: for one vacancy supplied, two, three or four fresh districts needed help, for it was beyond the power of a human agency to keep pace with the flooding-in of new settlers, with the unexampled growth of the country. But in hardship, toil, discouragement, anxiety, the foundations of church life were gradually laid: parochial life assumed a more or less constant aspect in old-established centres;

traditions of church-going were formed, the Sacraments were administered, children were catechised, churches were built.

Why, it may be wondered, was the growth not quicker, the progress surer? Many factors contributed to the apparent instability of church life. The country was new, the people poor: each man had only his own hands to rely on for bread for himself and his dependents, preoccupations with daily labour were intense, the future of the individual always uncertain. The political skies were not much clearer: internal politics were at the mercy of faction, while wars or threats of wars brought frequent financial stress. Leisure was scanty, books were dear and hard to come by, centers of culture as of church life, were few. Among a minority an interest in religion never flagged; and the existence of numberless sects professing doctrines new or old made controversy perpetual, keen and often bitter, and religion often a matter exclusively argumentative. Partisan feeling was never absent from parish life. Moreover, in the age of commonsense, of moderation, of reasonableness, churchmanship was distinguished by conduct and works rather than by special sanctity, and a church whose organization was synonymous with State establishment met with suspicion both temperamental and political. The English missionary took with him English traditions, English loyalties, an English outlook; increasingly as the century wore on these bore a somewhat alien aspect.

One hindrance above all others to the growth of church life, though too widely known to be here discussed, must be touched on. The lack of a bishop was an almost fatal obstacle. The Bishop of London, however conscientious, could exercise nothing but an empty supervision. Throughout the eighteenth century an unceasing cry was raised by the Society, by its agents in America, by colonial churchmen, by leaders of the church in England, for a bishop for America. Why that cry was never answered is not a subject for this sketch, though it may be remembered that whig influence, supported by dissent, opposed the scheme. Arguments in its favour were overwhelming. Was there ever before in Christian history, it was asked, an episcopal church without a bishop? Or a bishop at one end of the world with his diocese at another? Without a head to exercise discipline, check abuses, encourage, organize, advise, to perform the episcopal functions of confirmation and ordination, it was impossible for the colonial church to maintain a seemly, ordered and progressive life, an adequate supply of clergy. No man American-born could enter its service save by crossing the Atlantic for ordination, a voyage which entailed tremendous risk to life and health and expense which few could afford. Lacking a leader, the missionaries found it hard to

take corporate action; their voice was the voice of personal authority only, and should scandal arise concerning any, little could be done except report it to Fulham or to the S. P. G. These difficulties never pressed more hardly than at the beginning of the century. We turn to the correspondence of Talbot, whose passionate conviction of the necessity for a bishop in America, eventually led, it was said, all other means having failed, to his accepting consecration himself at the hands of non-juring bishops in England in 1722. If he took such a step it was only as a last desperate measure. Throughout his long mission, in season and out of season, he never ceased to employ his pen fearlessly in the cause which he had pleaded in person to the authorities in England in 1705 after a voyage undertaken for that sole purpose. His letters showed qualities truly apostolic in their passion, inspiration and leadership.

Is it not strange (he wrote) that so many Islands should be inhabited with Protestants, so many provinces planted by them, so many hundred thousand Souls born and bred up here in America, but of all the Kings, princes and Governors all the Bishops and Archbishops that have been since the Reformation they never sent anybody here to propagate the Gospel. I say to propagate it by imparting some spiritual Gift by Ordination and Confirmation.

Again

I reflect on the Progress of the Gospel (I will not say the Church for we never had it here, nor never shall till there come over a Propagator to plant and to build it up)

and again in the same year, 1709,

I cou'd have hindred all the rest of these Scandals and Disorders but that we had *no Bishop* nor hopes of any, you would not hear of it, therefore I said you must hear worse and worse still if ought can be worse than that the Bodies and Souls of men are min'd and undone and the Bounty of the Society lost but for lack of an Overseer of the poor Church in America, without which the Gospel can't be planted nor any good work propagated in the World.

Prospects of the fulfillment of the project were at one time sufficiently hopeful for him to

have got possession of the best House in America for a Bishop's Seat

—that house in Burlington which was destined to have no more

exalted inmates than ordinary missionaries, to more than one of whom it proved a veritable impediment, which was at last burnt to the ground, and the site of which remained a lively topic in the correspondence of Jonathan Odell right up to the Revolution.

Talbot may have thought that he and his fellow-missionaries were fighting in the cause single-handed; but such was not the case. The matter was laid before Queen Anne by the Society and its presiding Archbishop in 1707 and 1710, but the Queen's death altered the situation adversely. In 1716 Talbot wrote—

We have been here these twenty years calling till our hearts ache, and ye own 'tis the call and cause of God and yet ye have not heard, or have not answered.

Had his life been extended beyond the normal span, he would have found that twenty years was but a short space in the life of this controversy. Petition after petition was presented by the American clergy or by English bishops: in 1750 a plan was drawn up by Bishop Butler: Bishop Secker of Oxford wrote to Walpole in 1751 on the subject, in 1764 to Dr. Johnson. When the war broke out he stated

We may reasonably hope that our governors will be taught, by experience, to have some regard to the Church of England in America.

But the time was past. It is because the rulers of England let slip their opportunity, because they paid dearly for that and for other mistakes, that we are met now to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the American Episcopal Church.

It is not possible to consider here minutely the course of the history of the Church in New Jersey in the middle of the eighteenth century. Details of the progress of some of the colonial parishes, so far as they can be traced in the archives of the S. P. G. are embodied in the accompanying notes. Eight such missions were founded by the end of the first decade of the century; one, it appears, in the second decade (but to this church under the name of S. Andrew's, Lambertville, no reference has been found; no doubt we are geographically astray); one in the third decade; two in the fourth; three in the fifth; one in the sixth; the remaining three by 1770. Three of these churches now belong to the diocese of Newark. The position of the Church was greatly strengthened by the fact that a certain proportion of the later missionaries were American born and educated; these included the outstanding names of Seabury, Chandler, Beach, Odell. The copious correspondence of this period bears witness to faithful routine work, to preachings, baptisms, catechisings; negro slaves were not



forgotten nor the claims of education nor the duty of upholding the doctrines of the church against Quakers and other dissenting bodies. Whitefield blazed across the province raising clouds of "enthusiasm" to the great discomfort of the missionaries, and (though out of date) we may perhaps here note that at the end of the colonial period, as if there were not already perplexities enough, . . .

Mr. Westley hath taken advantage of our Embarrasments, and sent over a Dr. Coke, with the Title of *Superintendent*, with Authority *from him*, to ordain Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. He hath already ordained a number of Methodist Teachers, who have formed a separate Communion in New York, and in *other Places*. His Design, evidently, is to *draw off* the Members of our Church in her present helpless Condition; he hath not hitherto been *very successful*; but should we be much longer neglected, his Purposes, in all human Probability will be answered.

In the thirties and forties New Jersey enjoyed a tranquillity not shared by frontier States; in the annual Report, therefore, conditions there were covered by statements such as appeared in 1746:

their worthy missionaries labour very successfully to promote Virtue and Piety in their several Stations.

The case was altered in the fifties, when the war with France led to the pressure of taxation and general unrest. In 1757

The Letters from the Missionaries in this Colony complain much of the Difficulties and Distress which they labour under through the Calamities of the present Times; but they perceive this Good arising from them, that it makes Men more serious, and more frequent in their Attendance on the publick Duties of Religion.

But the following year the vestry of New Brunswick reported that

it is with great Pleasure they see the Church of England, by the Benevolence of the Society, and the prudent Choice they make of discreet Men, raising its Head in an infant Country.

With deeper insight and in much more threatening circumstances Chandler wrote in 1771,

were it not for the Society's Bounty or without some equivalent assistance there would soon be a general failure of clergymen for want of necessary support and the Church would be born down by the united efforts of its enemies. The pre-

vention of such a catastrophe is of inconceivable importance in a national view to say nothing of effects that are purely religious.

But in 1775 he could still say:

The Church in this Province makes a more respectable appearance than it ever did, till very lately: Thanks to the Venerable Society without whose charitable Interposition there would not have been one episcopal Congregation among us. They have now no less than *Eleven* Missionaries in this District; none of whom are blameable in their Conduct, and some of them are eminently useful. Instead of the small Buildings, out of repair, in which our congregations used to assemble 20 years ago, we have now several that make a handsome Appearance, both for size and decent Ornament, particularly at Burlington, Shrewsbury, New Brunswick and Newark: and all the rest are in good Repair: And the Congregations in general appear to me to be as much improved, as the Churches they assemble in.

This letter must have been one of the last to bring any comfort to the heart of the committee in London. For the very next year they were forced to record that they

are made acquainted from their Missionaries, that the preceeding year has been very unfavourable to the purposes of religion and peace;

and by 1777:

In the present deplorable State of our Plantations, little or no Correspondence hath subsisted between the Society and it's missionaries. In some provinces, their churches are shut up, the pastors imprisoned, or driven from their flocks to places of greater security. Letters from the other provinces have mis-carried and the greatest part of those few, that have reached the Society, for obvious reasons contain little more than the number of births and burials.

It is hard to conceive of the despairing consternation with which the gradual realization of the full fury, bitterness and extent of the revolutionary outbreak must have filled the missionaries. The foundations of their life were cast down. Not in one aspect only were they at variance with the colonists; nearly every principle which held their world together was ridiculed and contemptuously discarded before their eyes. They were, for the most part, English: and England was the abhorred oppressor. Loyalty to King was as imperative a sacred duty as loyalty to God; it was one of the pillars

of their churchmanship: George III was a tyrant whose name they were forbidden to utter. Obedience to authority was an ingrained clerical obligation: authority was scouted, the people constituted themselves the only source of law. Peace and goodwill were the basis of their Christian message: men's hearts were full of hate and strife. Their concern was not with politics: yet politics obliterated all other distinctions. Home and livelihood were swept away, families were left without support: even this was not the worst. The very fabric of their thought was torn. God was the almighty Benefactor, all His works were good, order was the proof of His existence, progress His universal fiat. If beneficence, goodness, ordered progress vanished from the earth, what was left? The stricken missionary found an answer difficult.

I am thrown out of my Bias (wrote Samuel Cooke) and almost rendered unfit for anything unless it is ruminate on the Distresses of this once happy Country.

At this juncture above all others the missionaries needed the advice and control of a bishop. Without it they were at a loss. Each was isolated in his own parish; correspondence with other missionaries was hazardous, frequently impossible. Urgent appeals were sent to the Society for its instructions in the crisis but brought small comfort, for the Society had naturally but a confused notion of events and distance and delay would in any case have invalidated whatever counsel they might have (but, in fact, did not) offer. The missionaries had to steer their own course. It was then that their quality became apparent. Like Jonathan Odell, they wished to avoid all public controversy, to carry out faithfully the duties of their missions and not overstep the bounds of clerical duty. But if as early as 1766 Chandler had found that

The duty of a Missionary in this Country is now become more difficult than ever. It is hard to dissemble any Truths or Precepts of the Gospel; and some of them, relating to Civil Society, it is now become dangerous to declare.

—by 1776 it was tangled almost past hope. But one point was clear. The clergy's oath of allegiance was a pledge which they could not break; loyalty to the Crown was imperative on conscience. When ordered to omit the State prayers, therefore, they refused to tamper with the liturgy and preferred rather to close their churches. The position was explained by Abraham Beach in 1777:

whenever it could be done with any Prospect of success, I



endeavoured to convince my Countrymen that under God their safety and happiness depended on a peaceable orderly Submission to that Government, which, from their first Emigration, had cherished and protected them; and under which they had so long flourished. But after the Congress had declared themselves independent, it was no longer in my Power to say any thing on that Subject. I was determined however still to continue the Service according to the Liturgy, unless prevented by the People. And accordingly, on the Sunday after the Declaration of Independence, I went to my Church at Piscataqua, and was called out of the Reading-Desk by a man who came from the Chairman of the Committee to acquaint me that if I should presume to pray for the King, Imprisonment and Destruction of Property would be the immediate Consequence.

I thought it could answer no good Purpose to expose myself to such Treatment—nor could I so far forget the Declaration I had subscribed before the Bishop, at my Ordination, or offer such an Indignity to my Sovereign, as to omit the Part of the Service they desired.

Accordingly, he shut up his churches from July 7th to December 8th, when the arrival of the King's troops enabled him to re-open them, but even then his position was "truly distressing"; his cattle, horses and sheep were driven off, his house fired on. For six years he was unable to consult his brethren, most of whom had gone to New York; in June, 1777, his churches were again closed.

In this destitute Condition I have had only my own Judgment to direct me, amidst the Difficulties with which I have been surrounded: always maintaining an invariable Resolution never to deviate from my Duty as a good Subject, a good Christian, and a Minister of the Gospel.

His perplexity finally resolved itself to the conclusion that the intentions of the Society could not be answered while churches were shut; he therefore opened them on Christmas Day, 1781, and brought himself to omit the state prayers;

And although my Feelings were hurt by being obliged to make the Omissions required, yet I have Reason to hope, that the Cause of true Religion may be promoted by it, and the Church kept from sinking *altogether*.

The case of Abraham Beach has been followed in detail because his indomitable courage, his American birth, his persistence in remaining at his post make it especially valuable. It is not possible to follow the course of each individual, their adventures are familiar and stirring episodes of the war. Odell's parish was fired on by "five

Gondolas, lying in the River" and he was forced "to ramble as a Refugee God knows when to return." Preston of Amboy, twice forced to hide in the country, at length found his mission "quite broken up" and to avoid imprisonment rejoined his old regiment, the 26th, as chaplain. Isaac Browne of Newark, oppressed in body and mind, was

obliged to fly to New York with such precipitation, on the approach of the Rebels to Newark after the King's troops had left it, that he was able only to take off with him his infirm wife, leaving the rest of the family, together with his furniture and other effects as a prey to his enemies.

The shores of Nova Scotia gave a final harsh refuge to these exiles, who were both over seventy years of age. Samuel Cooke, returning in 1777 from leave in England, found the state of the country too dreadful to allow him to reach his mission or family at Newark; five years later he was still separated from them, filled with "melancholy Reflexions" on the happiness he had once enjoyed there. The date of other missionaries varied little;

Mr. Ogden early was compelled to fly from Sussex. . . .  
Mr. Panton (was) forced to fly for it, when the King's Army evacuated . . . Trenton.

It might well have been thought that the injuries received by the Episcopal Church were too deep to admit of recovery.

Yet the same events that shook the Church to its center gave it power to rise to a new life. Freedom was essential for its continued existence; that freedom came with the disappearance of the bonds that had linked the American Church to the state establishment of England. American churchmen at once set to work to secure for themselves bishops. There is no need to enter into the complex negotiations by which this privilege was secured, nor to recall to mind the famous scene in the small chapel at Aberdeen when on Sunday, 14th November, 1784, Seabury was consecrated the first bishop of the American Episcopal Church, nor that other scene at Lambeth when in 1787 complete unity with the Anglican Church was restored by the consecration at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury of the first bishops of Pennsylvania and New York. The burning desire of Talbot, alight in churchmen throughout the century, was fulfilled at its end.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have borne full testimony to the mutual esteem of your Church and our Society. From 1785, when the first General Convocation of the American Church was held,

until today, the Church has never ceased to pay its "just acknowledgment to that Venerable Society," nor to express in generous terms its "most lively gratitude." In response to such gratitude, the Society with great pride shares with America the treasures of its muniment room, the archives of the early history of them both. The manuscripts present a wide field; they explain the past, they suggest the developments of the future. In time when treaties, commerce, finance and all the mechanism of an over-complicated world enslave countries, whether to their good or their undoing, none can foretell, such bonds as the records of their mutual history are potent only for good. A great man whom our two countries share, caused to be written over the doors of his libraries "All that mankind has done, thought, gained or been is lying in the pages of books." Humbly as trustees we claim that much of the human activity, thought and endeavour which explain and bind our nations to one another is preserved in the muniments of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

### III.

#### MASSACHUSETTS

**B**Y WAY of prologue I should like to say that this lecture is based on archives which have almost all been copied or photographed and are accessible in this country. I have not, therefore, attempted to give a systematic and comprehensive account of the early work of the S. P. G. missionaries in this province, as many of you are no doubt already conversant with the history of the respective parishes of Massachusetts. What I have done is to give a very general survey of the early days as far as the missionaries were concerned—the difficulties to be overcome, the success attendant upon each, and, finally, the varying fortunes of our men during the War of Independence. The extracts that have been quoted are in the nature of parentheses to bear out my statements: hearing them I think you cannot fail to be either impressed or amused by the dignity or naivete of those eighteenth century pens. I have had the advantage, in writing this lecture, of working from the original documents. They, as old letters always do, have brought the past very close—that past fraught just as our present is today with trial and fear and the compensating happiness and hope.

The story of the Society's connection with Massachusetts begins in the days when America was indeed a brave New World and, as an unknown land, promised a fuller life to the disappointed, the zealous, and the adventurous. In those days the shores of New England symbolized to many an eager traveller the country of hope fulfilled; the long voyage over he saw at last his Arcadia, his Salem, or his Eldorado. During the seventeenth century Massachusetts was one of the chief landing-stages for those who came to America to play their parts in a more congenial setting; and from Massachusetts they set out—north, south and west, the broad field beckoning them on to enterprise and achievement.

This huge land lay at the feet of George Keith when he landed at Boston on June 11th, 1702. As the first missionary of the S. P. G. he had come to "lay the Nets of Salvation" in America, and to start that concerted effort that was to result in the American Episcopal Church. He travelled from New England to North Carolina, preaching, baptizing, refuting false doctrine, publishing sermons, and scattering tracts. The object of his tour was to supply the Society with an authentic account of the state of religion in America and to report where it would be of most profit to send missionaries. Keith came

over with the Rev. Patrick Gordon (prospective missionary to Long Island), and the Rev. John Talbot (chaplain to the ship—he joined Keith and the service of the Society and was afterwards stationed in New Jersey). Here is Keith's own account of his voyage and arrival in America, written to the Secretary the day after he landed:—

June 12th 1702.

Worthy Sir,

After signifying my Christian Respects to yourself, this is to acquaint you with our good Passage and safe Arrival to Boston in New England the 11th of this Instant having been but six weeks betwixt our sailing from the Cowes, and our Arrival at Marblehead a good Harbour about 20 miles from Boston, and next day we arrived safely at Boston.

Our worthy friend, Governor Dudley, (of New England), is well, and I heard him say, he never had a more comfortable Passage, he was so very civil & kind to Mr. Gordon & me, that he caused us both eat at his Table all the Voyage, and his Conversation was both pleasant and Instructive, in so much that the great Cabin of the Ship was like a Colledge for good Discourse both in Matters Theological and Philosophical and very cordially he joined daily with us in divine worship and I well understand he purposeth to give all possible Encouragem<sup>t</sup> to the Congregation of the Church of England in this place. Also Col: Morris, (Governor of New Jersey), was very civil & kind to us, and so was the Captain of the Ship call'd the Centurion, . . . and good order was kept in the Ship, so that if any of the Seamen were complained upon to the captain for profane swearing, he caused to punish them according to the usuall Custom by causing them to carry a heavy wooden Collar about their neck for an hour that was both painful and shameful . . ."

In his Journal, published on his return to England, Keith says that on his arrival he and his companions were kindly entertained in Boston by the Rev. Samuel Miles and the Rev. Christopher Bridge, the only Ch. of England ministers in the province. During his travels, Keith had the opportunity of seeing the plight of those members of the Ch. of England who had settled in America and who for the most part were without either minister or church. His coming inspired many petitions for missionaries and many little communities were set crying "Come over and help us." Dissenters of various different sects, including Quakers, Presbyterians, and Anabaptists, quite outnumbered the Anglicans in America. Fearing for their freedom, these dissenters did not greet attempts to foster the colonial Episcopal Church with any favour—in fact quite the reverse. Keith at the outset met with opposition from them. On the first Sunday



that he spent in America he preached in the Queen's Chapel at Boston and noted in his Journal that there

was a large Auditory, not only of Church People, but of many others . . .

This first Boston sermon was printed shortly after its delivery and greatly alarmed the Independent preachers in the city. Mr. Increase Mather, that eminent non-conformist and first President of Harvard College, published a short treatise against the sermon and accused Keith—amongst other things—of "Paganism, Judaism, Popery and Simonry." Keith continued this altercation in print by a tract, which, said he,

I had Printed at New York, the Printer at Boston not daring to Print it, lest it should give offence to the Independent Preachers there . . .

He continues, and tells of his visit to Cambridge together with Mr. Talbot and Mr. Bridge:

I was present at the Commencement, which was that very day; and having heard Mr. Samuel Willard, President of the College, at the said Commencement maintain some Assertions that seemed to me very unsound, the next day I writ a Letter to him in Latin, shewing my great dislike of those his assertions, and after some days I sent it to him; after this, at the request of some there, I put it into English, and had it Printed at New York . . .

Mr. Willard replied in a "Small Treatise containing about four Sheets," whereupon Keith laid another 6 "Sheets" to his own credit in refuting Mr. Willard. In a letter to Dr. Bray written in February, 1703, he mentions his concern that Harvard should be so antagonistic to the Ch. of England. He suggests that a little leaven in the way of worthy students and dons from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in England should be sent to Harvard to counteract the growth of schism there! But as you know, his advice was not taken.

It was not only George Keith who had to contend with the dissenters. In accordance with the Society's charter, S. P. G. missionaries came into foreign parts first of all to minister to those who were already members of the Ch. of England; secondly, they came "to proceed . . . towards the Conversion of the Natives." Now to the eighteenth century Anglican, the convertible natives of America were represented by dissenters every bit as much as by athiests and pagans; it was to the dissenters that the Rev. John Talbot referred when he wrote:



Heathens & Hereticks . . . Superabound in these  
Parts, Africa has not more monsters than America . . .

And the dissenters having experienced the intolerance of the Ch. of England at home, in turn became as oppressive to the minority as the powerful majority had once been to them. All our missionaries were faced with their consistent or occasional hostility. New England especially was a stronghold of Non-conformity. Colonel Lewis Morris, Governor of New Jersey, wrote to Archdeacon Beveridge in July, 1702:

I intreat your Interest in sending good ministers into America . . . If the Church can be settled in New England it pulls up schisme in America by the roots, that being the fountain that supplyes with infectious streams the rest of America.

(Even Governors apparently lapse into mixed metaphors!)

It was unfortunate both for the Anglican clergy and their parishioners that the high official positions in the province were often filled by dissenters who made things as uncomfortable as possible for their enemies. Perhaps the malign influence was exerted all the more willingly, as many of our most enthusiastic missionaries had conformed from the Independent Churches. Dr. Timothy Cutler of Christ Church, Boston; Dr. Henry Caner of the King's Chapel, Boston; Dr. Mather Byles of the North Church, Boston; the Rev. Edward Bass of Newbury; the Rev. Ebenezer Thompson of Scituate; the Rev. John Wiswall of Falmouth, and the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks of Marblehead, had all at one time been dissenters.

Friction between the rivals of the Episcopal Church and the members of it arose chiefly over the question of taxation. Taxes were levied as a matter of course upon all and sundry for the support of the various clergy of the province, and then the funds were divided in proportion to the size of the respective congregations. Often the town treasurers were dissenters and favoured their own ministers with sums that belonged by right to the Anglican clergy. Again those who before the advent of a Ch. of England minister had consented to subscribe towards the support of the meeting houses, were even after their professed allegiance to the Ch. of England expected to continue to pay taxes to the Independent Church. Naturally, they only wanted to give money to their own ministers, but if they refused to pay the dissenter's dues, then they were fined or imprisoned or their goods were confiscated. At one time 30 people were put in gaol in one town for not paying what was required of them. We have many pitiful letters complaining of this; many petitions were sent both to the authorities in America and to the Society at home in Lon-

don, but it was not till 1727 that the rulers of the province consented to make some efforts towards redressing the wrong. In that year, an Act was passed by the General Court at Boston which laid down that all persons living within a radius of 5 miles from an Anglican Church could be exempted from taxes claimed by the Congregationalists. This, however, was scarcely redress, as many Anglicans lived further than 5 miles from their parish church. Dr. Cutler of Boston (in a letter to the Secretary in 1731), quotes the case of one James Ellis of Cambridge, who, although a worthy member of the congregation of Christ Church in Boston, was shut up in gaol for not paying the tax to his local dissenting minister at Cambridge. In October, 1731, the Anglican clergy of New England made a concerted complaint against the oppressive measures of the powerful dissenters. They addressed themselves to the Throne of England and prayed that George II would "pronounce his Royal negative" and repeal the Act of 1727. But nothing came of it, nor of a subsequent petition drawn up by Roger Price, the Bishop of London's Commissary in Boston, to the House of Representatives. It was not till 1735 that the 5-mile clause of the Act was abolished, owing to the efforts of Edmund Gibson, Bp. of London, who approached the Governor of New England on the subject. Eventually the vexed question of taxation was settled; juggling with the parochial assessments was no longer countenanced, and at last all moneys collected for the support of ministers were justly made over to the proper parties.

In February, 1730, Dr. Cutler wrote a letter full of foreboding, telling of the appointment of Jonathan Belcher as Governor of Massachusetts Bay. He was a noted dissenter, and, says Dr. Cutler,

. . . lately refused to marry his Daughter to a young Gentleman baptized and brought up in the Church of England before he absolutely promised to forsake the Church which he has accordingly done . . .

Actually, Governor Belcher proved not unjust and only once did feeling run really high between him and a member of the Ch. of England. That was on the occasion when he proclaimed March 25th as the annual fast day throughout the province. Roger Price came to him in a great heat and said that March 25th—Lady Day—was always a festival in the Ch. of England calendar. They had words, and as Belcher was Governor, he won the day! (Subsequently he wrote home to the Bp. of London complaining of the rudeness of Commissary Price.)

It was not only the hostility of the provincial authorities with which our men had to contend. Each one in his own particular parish had to cope with peculiar difficulties laid on the parsonage

doorstep by the jealous dissenters. "The enemies of the Church are active enough against us"; that is a representative sentence from our American letters. No doubt the parochial struggles were all too poignant at the time to the parties concerned, but they are amusing to read of today as we accord our patronage to the past. The Rev. Henry Lucas, writing to the Society in 1717, tells how the rivalry between Anglicans and Independents was responsible for the building of Queen Anne's Chapel at Newbury. Here are his own words:

The meeting House being decayed (which stood very convenient for this corner of the Town) and consequently wanting to be repaired, The majority rather than they would do that agreed to pluck it down and build a new one upon Pipestave Hill three miles from us, whereupon this Corner being disgusted was resolved to have one of their own, and began to build it . . .

The Rev. Edward Bass, writing to the Society many years later, in 1771, told of more faction in connection with the same Church. He writes:

Queen Anne's chapel . . . hath for some years been unfit for use. About a twelvemonth ago, the steeple, containing a bell given by a former Bishop of London, blew down in a storm. My Antagonists have got said bell & some other things belonging to the Church in their possession & refuse to deliver them up, under a pretence that they have a right to them because some of their Ancestors assisted in getting the frame of the house . . .

The opposition of the dissenters was certainly manifested in deeds, but more often in words. "The mouth of Calumny is open against me," wrote Dr. Cutler in 1725. He had been attacked in the Boston News Letter for "userping the pulpit" of the meeting house at Scituate. Many of our missionaries had cause to complain likewise. The dissenters were always vilifying the Church and her ministers in an effort to prejudice possible converts to Episcopacy. The Rev. Thomas Eager wrote from Braintree in 1713 that his parish was a veritable "New Creet" for false reports. The Rev. Addington Davenport of Scituate wrote in a letter dated Nov. 10th, 1735:

They (the dissenters) have not spared most liberally to slander us with every villainy almost that the corruption of human nature could perpetuate, which complim<sup>t</sup> they generally pay the Apostates, as they term the proselytes to our Church . . .

Indeed, it was frequently an uncomfortable business being an Anglican in those early days in America. One's character was taken away by the dissenters and then there was small chance of "making good"

except in one's own little circle of staunch churchmen. Mr. Davenport puts the case elegantly when he says that the people were

intimidated by secular views from conformity (which is no considerable clogg to preferment here) . . .

He adds of his own parish of Scituate:

. . . this poor little Church (is) represented as the Trojan horse, big with mischief & ruin to this part of New England . . .

It was not only at Scituate that the Church was held to be a menace and churchmanship a "clogg." The Rev. George Pigot of Marblehead, writing to the Society in 1730, tells of

the fluctuating of two peevish men who now are bandied from Church to Meeting, & from Meeting to Church, as their wives and humours prompt them. These two Gentlemen . . . are both Justices of the Peace, and therefore we are forced to bear with them, that we may at least have some men in authority here who dare shew their faces at the Church . . .

The fact that Harvard College was what the Rev. Charles Brockwell of Salem chose to call a "Seminary of Schism," was a disturbing thought to our clergy in Massachusetts. Dr. Cutler's interesting and informative letters furnish the observation that

. . . all possible art consistent with safety & secrecy is used at that college to suppress any good inclination in the Students towards our Excellent Church . . . (Feb. 3, 1727/28.)

At one time, the Ch. of England ministers in Boston had, in the capacity of teaching elders, sat as overseers of Harvard; but the year 1727 saw Dr. Cutler, the Rev. Henry Harris and the Rev. Samuel Miles "shuffled off from sitting with that body." Dr. Cutler did all he could to regain the lost position on the Board of the College. He tried to move the Society to take some steps in the matter and wrote an eloquent letter saying that 150 students all imbued with non-conformist doctrine and potential enemies of the Church were worthy of the Society's notice. There was much argument, but the Independent authorities of the College remained firm; they would not have the Episcopal element introduced into Harvard in the persons of the Anglican ministers. In 1749, however, the S. P. G. presented the College with a selection of books written by Ch. of England divines. As you know, these were unfortunately burnt in the fire that destroyed the College library in 1764, but the Rev. East Apthorp, the rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, proposed

that the Society would make a typical gesture in giving a new present of books to Harvard, thus, he says,

repairing this Great loss to religion and learning in a Colony wholly unprovided of public Libraries . . .

So the books were sent and, to judge from the letter acknowledging them, all feuds between the College authorities and the ministers of the Ch. of England had long been forgiven and forgotten.

From the few instances that I have quoted, you have been assured that the dissenters spared no pains to discourage the establishment of the Episcopal Church in America. But the multitudinous frictions, disputes and squabbles, though they hindered our missionaries, did not daunt them. They did their duty with good courage; though they received set-backs, they also received encouragements.

The first visit of the Methodist preacher, George Whitefield, to America in 1740 was hailed as a consummate evil by the Ch. of England ministers, but it proved to be a blessing in the course of time. The Anglicans met his eloquence with ridicule, but he took the dissenters by storm. We have numerous letters telling of the "enthusiasm"—that is, in the parlance of those days, the madness—of the followers of Whitefield. Here, as a specimen, is an extract from a letter written by the Rev. Charles Brockwell in February, 1741. He says:

Enthusiasts . . . strol[e] about haranguing the admiring Vulgar in *extempore* nonsense . . . Their behaviour is indeed as shocking as uncommon, their groans, cries, screams, & agonies must affect the Spectators . . . whilst the ridiculous & frantic gestures of others cannot but excite both laughter & contempt, some leaping, some laughing, some singing, some clapping one another upon the back . . .

"Such vulgar, crude and boisterous things"—Dr. Cutler's phrase—filled all good church people with contempt, and even many of the heartiest devotees of Whitefield eventually became rather ashamed of themselves. "The cry," wrote Dr. Cutler in December, 1742, ". . . is for sounder Doctrine and regenerate converted ministers." The Church, therefore, was the gainer after all, and many converts were added to her ranks when the Methodist tyranny was over-past.

So the work of the S. P. G. in Massachusetts steadily progressed. New townships petitioned for ministers; new churches were built or enlarged; new missions were established. By 1766 there were three flourishing congregations in Boston and one each at Cambridge, Braintree, Marblehead, Newbury, Scituate, Salem, Taunton, Ded-



ham and Falmouth, and an itinerant missionary was visiting the settlements on the northern frontiers of the province. In June, 1766, the Rev. William McGilchrist of Salem wrote as follows:

Last year the Clergy present at Dr. Cutler's Funeral agreed to have an annual Convention in Boston, to promote mutual love & harmony & to advise each other. Accordingly we met, 14 in number . . . & made something of an appearance for this Country, when we walked together in our Gowns and Cassocks . . .

One very important thing, however, retarded the progress of the Church in New England as it did in every part of America. As you well know, the lack of a resident Bishop enormously complicated matters. Ever since the days of Charles I it had been understood that the Bp. of London had charge of colonial ecclesiastical affairs; he exercised spiritual jurisdiction in the British overseas dominions, and all Ch. of England missionaries had to defer to him. He appointed commissaries who acted as local secretaries and sent home reports from the most important cities of America. But it was a far cry across the vast width of the Atlantic to the see of London, and the American colonies deeply felt the separation from their diocesan; they were well-nigh cut off from the help and authority of a Bishop whose immediate presence would have meant so much to all churchmen in America. Questions that needed a speedy answer had to be asked by letters and a reply could only be obtained after an interval of several weeks—always supposing the letters reached their respective destinations, which was not always the case. Frequently we find duplicates among our American letters or the writer recapitulates the information contained in his last communication to the Society; thus the missionaries took precaution against a packet service none too reliable in the days when sea-faring was fraught with so many dangers. But it was not only letters that had perforce to dare the hazards of the seas; all American candidates for the ministry had to take the same perilous voyage to England to be ordained. The Rev. William Hooper of Trinity Church, Boston, writing to the Society to announce his safe arrival in Boston in August, 1747, tells of his adventurous voyage from England. Ten weeks from Portsmouth

. . . a Spanish Man-of-War had almost demolished the Warwick in Which I was, and a storm had almost sunk the Merchant Ship on which I went on board after I left the Warwick. But blessed be God, I arrived safe at last . . .

Many prospective missionaries were drowned either on the way



to England or on the return journey. Some having arrived safely in London sickened and died of epidemics prevalent in the city. Such was the case of Dudley Bradstreet an ex-Independent minister, who went to England for ordination prior to becoming the Society's missionary at Newbury. He died in London in May, 1714. We have a pathetic letter written on behalf of the dead man and addressed to the Bp. of London who had recently ordained him. The writer prays that Mr. Bradstreet's few debts and funeral expenses may be paid by "the Illustrious Society in whose cause he lost his life," but the letter is written chiefly that the Bishop may refute the whisper in New England that the worthy man's death "was a Judgement on him for his Apostacy."

It is small wonder that the "danger and expence of a voyage of 1,000 leagues long"—the possibility of shipwreck, sickness, and encounters with pirates or enemy ships, made many waver in their desire to become ministers of the Ch. of England. The less spirited gave up the idea of "coming at the Gown"; some continued to plough their furrows meekly under the yoke of dissent; others boldly took their lives in their hands, or more truly, tossed them to the Hand of God and set sail for England to gain the rank of priesthood. An Episcopate in America would of course have obviated these toilsome voyages that lost so many labourers to the harvest. (On the other hand, the risks were a kind of trial by ordeal that confirmed or dissipated the enthusiasm of would-be missionaries and as such they were of value.)

Again and again the need of an Episcopate in America was stressed in numberless memorials. "We have been here these twenty years calling till our hearts ache," wrote Talbot in 1717. Dr. Cutler pointed out that the French and the Spaniards in America had their Bishops while the English Americans were without one. This must have been a bitter reflection in the days when British feelings ran so high against France and Spain, the arch-enemies of eighteenth century England. In 1760, Dr. Henry Caner of Boston suggested that a visitor appointed by the Bp. of London should make a tour of the parishes to meet both ministers and congregations, to amend abuses, settle disputes, and generally bring to America the authority if not the power of a Bishop. Differences of opinion are bound to occur in any thinking community, and John Checkley—that misrepresented man—said with truth that the Anglicans in America needed

a principlee of unity upon the spot, to heal those disorders which neither the vigilance nor wisdom of . . . our right reverend Diocesan, at so great a distance, can forsee or, I fear, prevent . . .

Another point must be remembered also: with no Bishop the American people were denied Confirmation.

Many times it seemed that all the pleas, prayers and petitions, humble, eloquent or forceful, would result in an American Episcopate, The Society at home did all it could. The Throne was frequently approached, but civil events always came between the champions of the cause and their end. Now it was the death of Queen Anne; now the activities of the Old Pretender; now the ambitions of the Duke of Newcastle who was anxious to keep the favour of the dissenters and knew that the fear of taxation made them greatly opposed to the settlement of Bishops.

So time passed away in fruitless effort, and 80 years after the coming of the first S. P. G. missionary there was still no Episcopate in America. "This," as Dr. Caner wrote in 1762, "is a melancholy subject which I take no pleasure to dwell upon."

From the year 1766 onwards, our missionaries in New England begin to mention the "murmurs and disorders" in that "time of confusion." From 1766 until the actual outbreak of war, they were busy instilling a "spirit of peace & patience" into their parishioners and encouraging loyalty to the Crown. The Rev. William McGilchrist of Salem, in June, 1768, reported on the bitterness of the people against Parliament and the Church. He wrote:

Last week their chief Demagogue declaimed vehemently in the general Court against the oppressive impositions, as he termed them, of the English; & to set a keener edge on his hearers' passions asserted roundly that their Churches were in danger, inveigh'd bitterly against his Grace of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and pursued a parallel between the former and Archbishop Laud . . .

Mr. McGilchrist makes an interesting point in a letter dated June 27th, 1769. He says:

They that are of the Church of England in this country are of a more moderate Spirit in political matters than the Dissenters; whose ministers in all cases take the popular side, and are carried down with the torrent. And the chief of the sons of liberty as they that oppose the English duties are pleased to style themselves, have confess'd that they could not have succeeded in Inflaming the minds of the People as they have done, if they had not had a Regiment of Black Coats to back them . . .

In 1770, the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks of Marblehead reported on the confusions that had arisen through the sudden repeal of the Stamp Act. Half the people, he said, had thought Parliament in the right but when it made no attempt to maintain its own au-

thority, then the protagonists of Parliament felt badly let-down and inclined to side with the rebels.

So the storm gathered, and the missionaries had much ado to live peaceably according to their principles.

We are neither allowed to speak nor scarcely to be silent unless we join with those who we believe to be labouring the destruction of our constitution, civil & religious . . .

They had written to this effect from their annual Convention in 1768 and the years were to bring home to every one of them the fact that a definite decision had to be made. They had sworn their oath of allegiance and had taken their ordination vows; it was a case of King *or* Country—they had to pledge themselves once for all as loyal subjects of their acknowledged Sovereign or as patriotic supporters of their adopted land. There was no accepted compromise. The Rev. Edward Bass took a broad view of the question; his attitude was common-sense and humane, but the Society considered it disloyal and he was dismissed on evidence that he had complied with the wishes of the patriots. Here is the account of one representative action on his part and the subsequent account of that action reported by his enemies. In January, 1779, when Edward Bass's dismissal was hot in question, Mr. Weeks wrote these words:

Mr. Bass went so far as to preach a sermon exhorting his hearers to give their money liberally for cloathing the rebel soldiers . . .

This statement was exaggerated into the charge

That he preached a Charity sermon to Cloath the American Army . . .

Thus his sympathy was misconstrued. But as you know his Christian principles eventually recommended him as far as the see of Massachusetts; he was consecrated the first Bishop of this province in May, 1797.

The letters written from America after the actual commencement of hostilities are both exciting and moving. There is not time now to give you more than a few extracts. The Rev. Winwood Serjeant of Cambridge wrote in March, 1774:

The Populace are almost daily ingaged in riots & tumults: on the 7th Instant they made a second Destruction of 30 Chests of Tea, the property of three or four Merchants . . .

Dr. Caner wrote from Boston in April, 1775:

I have promised to notify them (the New England clergy) if the King's troops sho<sup>d</sup> find it necessary to move forward in a hostile manner, that they may retire to this town for a time, lest possibly they should be seized on as Hostages, if no worse . . .

The Rev. Mather Byles, writing to the Secretary a few days later, reported

the sword of civil war was unsheathed and there was a battle between the Regulars and the Provincials in which numbers were killed on both sides. In consequence of this New England is now in an uproar. Boston is besieged. Letters are intercepted and all friendly intercourse between Town and Country prevented. The Inhabitants of this place are now confined to a Garrison . . . Pity me, my dear Sir, . . . everything round me is confused . . .

Dr. Caner wrote a graphic account of the siege of Boston; the letter may be already familiar to you.

The King's Troops succeeding in removing the Enemy from a very strong and well defended Entrenchment yet it proved a very dear bought victory. The greatest part of the Grenadiers of the light Infantry fell in the Action. The killed and wounded amount to above a 1000 men, of which 92 were officers. We are now closely besieged, the Rebels having brought forward their works within about half a mile all around us, except to the Seaward. They have fortified every Hill and Eminence with Redoubts and Entrenchments, so that it will require a strong Army to remove them—The Inhabitants of this Town, about one third of which remain, are greatly distressed for want of provision and firing. The salt provision, to which we have long been confined, joined with the heat of the weather, have brought on Fluxes and other disorders, which are now become epidemical and prove very mortal . . .

He goes on to describe the fates of various missionaries:

Mr. Serjeant of Cambridge has been obliged with his family to fly for the safety of their lives . . . Mr. Weeks of Marblehead is also fled . . . Mr. Wiswall of Falmouth, after being taken prisoner, escaped out of their hands and has taken shelter in this town . . . We are all of us in a distressing situation. In the Town we are exposed to famine; in the Country to the sword . . . The King's loyal subjects . . . are daily flying to Halifax, Quebec, to the West Indies and to England . . .

On the 10th of March, 1776, Dr. Caner was notified that the British troops were about to evacuate Boston and in haste he packed up a few goods and sailed for Halifax. Dr. Byles remained as long as possible in the city as chaplain to the Garrison and hospitals, but on the sudden retreat of the King's forces, he too had to fly to Halifax, and from there he wrote:

I now see myself, without being guilty of any crime to occasion it reduced within the compass of a few Days to the most distressing Circumstances imaginable; an Exile from my native country; pent up in one wretched chamber, in a strange Place, together with my five motherless children . . . entirely at a Loss as to my future Residence & Subsistence . . .

The Rev. William Clark of Dedham experienced even more severe trials. In a most interesting letter he tells how he fell under suspicion for having assisted a man who signified that the war was a rebellion. A hostile mob attacked his house and he was taken to a public-house, there to view a picture of that super-rebel, Oliver Cromwell, at once the hero and the excuse of the sons of liberty. He was subsequently tried at Boston but not allowed a counsel; he was condemned to banishment and confiscation of estate. Through the intercession of friends, however, he was allowed to return to his house on parole and continued to conduct the services of his church in full for more than eight months after the declaration of independence, when prayers for the King were forbidden by law. He continued to hold private meetings with the loyalists of his parish who were not intimidated by the risk. Being deaf and asthmatical, he was at last allowed to leave his cure and returned to England. In his own words he had drunk "deep of the cup of affliction and endured complicated misery."

The Rev. John Wiswall of Falmouth also suffered. In August, 1775, he wrote:

The Falmouth people detained all my property, my Library which was a good one . . . all my household furniture, and my real estate they appropriated to the pay of the Army which they have raised to join the Continental Forces round the town . . .

His wife and daughter died as a result of the hardships to which they were exposed.

We have many other pathetic letters telling of the trials of the missionaries in those troublous times. There is not space now to



quote more. Suffice it to say that with the exception of Edward Bass, they all fled from perjury that seemed more ignominious than the insults of the people. In Canada or England they reflected on their labours that had been cut short so suddenly and so finally. No doubt they regretted leaving the land where their predecessors had worked and where they themselves had looked on the growth of seed sown on good ground. Could they have seen across a span of time to the thankful rejoicing of the American people over their Episcopal Church honoured by 150 years of effort and success, I think they would have smiled and thanked God.

#### MASSACHUSETTS TOWNSHIPS AND THEIR MISSIONARIES

##### BOSTON:

Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler, Christ Church, 1723-1764.

Rev. James Greateon, Assistant to the above, succeeded him but asked to be removed because of a dispute.

Rev. Stephen Roe, Lecturer, 1743-4.

Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, King's Chapel, 1747-1776.

Rev. Dr. Mathew Byles, North Church, 1769-1775.

##### CAMBRIDGE:

Rev. Dr. East Apthorp, 1759-1764.

Rev. Winwood Serjeant, 1767-1775.

##### BRAINTREE:

Rev. Wm. Barclay, 1704-5.

Rev. Thomas Eager, 1712-14.

Rev. Ebenezer Miller, 1727-1761.

Rev. Edward Winslow, 1764-1779.

##### MARBLEHEAD:

Rev. Wm. Shaw, 1715-17.

Rev. David Mossom, 1718-1726.

Rev. George Pigot, 1727-1738.

Rev. Alexander Malcolm, 1739-1748.

Rev. Peter Bours, 1752-1762.

Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, 1762-1779.

##### NEWBURY OR NEWBURYPORT:

Rev. John Lambton, 1714-15.

Rev. Henry Lucas, 1716-20.

Rev. Matthias Plant, 1721-53.

Rev. Edward Bass, 1753-1779.

##### SALEM

Rev. Charles Brockwell, 1739-1743.

Rev. William McGilchrist, 1746-1779.



THE S. P. G. AND COLONIAL CHURCH IN MASSACHUSETTS 115

SCITUATE (with Marshfield and Stoughton):

Rev. Addington Davenport, 1735-37.

Rev. Charles Brockwell, 1737-8.

Rev. Ebenezer Thompson, 1746-1779.

TAUNTON:

Rev. John Lyon, 1766-68.

HOPKINTON (and Indians):

Rev. Roger Price, 1748-1753.

Rev. John Troutbeck, 1753-1757.

DEDHAM:

Rev. Edward Winslow, 1764-69.

Rev. William Clark, 1769-1778.

FALMOUTH:

Rev. John Wiswall, 1765-1775.

## THE CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA

*By Louis C. Washburn, D.D.*

CERTAIN real gains are being garnered from the sesqui-centennial celebrations of last year and this. It is evident that we should re-think and re-read our histories, ecclesiastical and secular. The meticulous recording of dates and facts will always engage the attention of the chronologists; but if the history of the past is to be made to light the path of present progress, the art of the historian must reveal the impelling forces and human reactions in personalities and movements tending toward purposive goals. Modern developments in this department of literature have been quite as impressive as the march forward in the physical sciences.

And yet, there has been a manifest retrogression in one direction, and that perhaps the most vital of all; and it behooves those who would sketch the experiences of the Church of God in one land or century and another, to enrich the thought of each generation by bringing to the fore this surprisingly neglected element in our racial evolution.

Looking unto the rock whence one and another of our American Colonies was hewn, it becomes imperative to make it convincingly clear that the Rock was none other than the Lord Christ. There never was a period when we have been under graver necessity for certifying the incalculable debt that we individually, and as a nation, owe to the Christian religion. The one hope for recovery in all our mutual relationships lies in applying the Mind and Spirit of the Master of men and society. Ecclesiastical and theological investigators may profitably continue to evaluate the differences that have rent the "seamless robe"; and the World Conference on Faith and Order may haply prove a constructive agency; but if the Forward Movement is to bear full fruitage we must focus the thought of today upon the indispensable realities of our spiritual heritage.

What have the text books in our schools to say to the oncoming youth about God in human life? What recognition of Him is to be found in our contemporary literature? How persuasively do our Church apologists affect the pagan implications of our best sellers?

It is with such introductory interrogations that we would indicate the significance of the development of our Church in Pennsyl-

vania. The altogether admirable article on the Diocese of Maryland exhales this spirit.<sup>1</sup> This underlying conviction was thus stated a generation ago by a recognized authority amongst Oxford scholars; "history teaches us this, that in tracing back the course of human progress we come in one case after another upon Christianity as the source from which improvement derived its principle and its motive. We find no other source adequate to account for the new spring of amendment; and without it, no other source of good could have been relied upon. It was not only the strongest element of salutary change, but one without which others would have had no chance."

Indubitably it was the great emancipating revelations of the Christ that undermined the entrenched tyrannies of apostolic days and succeeding centuries. Loyalty to His magnetic personality knit His followers into a fellowship consecrated to the dignity of our common manhood, and to the replacing of self-seeking oppressions with self-sacrificing service.

Those simplehearted disciples whom He had trained so patiently understood Him at least in part, and with an exhilaration that was indomitable and contagious went forth to share the transforming secret, turning the world upside down.

From oppressed, and in turn persecuting Palestine, the adventurers for God carried the glad tidings to Asia, and Greece, and Rome, and to the ends of the known earth, to Britain, and after sixteen hundred years to this western continent.

It was in the fullness of providential time, that this regenerating stream of the revealed mind of the heavenly Father, filtered for the most part through Anglo-Saxon soil, swept on to these shores, bearing the sturdy pioneers of the faith to establish the permanent foundations of a new experiment in the making of man.

Supplementing the adventurous Jesuit missionaries to the north and west from France and Spain, the hardy builders of the Colonies—Churchmen, Puritans, Quakers, and the rest, with all their minor cleavages, were predominantly what they were because of their English Christianity, with their English Bible, and Shakespeare and all their inbred traditions and convictions about God and His universe, and about man and his job in the world.

So came the hardy John Cabot in the little ship "Matthew" in 1497 discovering the new continent; and so Sir Francis Drake in 1579 reached the California coast, where his chaplain, Francis Fletcher, held a service at which the natives "seemed greatly to be affected"; thereafter the ill-fated colony of Sir Walter Raleigh landed on Roanoke Island in 1587, baptizing the friendly Indian, Manteo, as well

<sup>1</sup>March, 1934.

as the first white child born on American soil, Virginia Dare. Then followed in 1607 the Jamestown settlers with Captain John Smith and the godly minister, Robert Hunt; and Captain Smith records in his diary that after the minister died "we continued our daily prayers with a homily on Sunday for two or three years after 'til more preachers came." Thirteen years later the "Mayflower" brought over the devout settlers of Massachusetts; and in 1629 Captain William Claiborne established on Kent Island, Maryland, a plantation made up of members of the Church of England, followed in 1634 by the arrival of the "Ark and Dove."

It was in the same decade that the first group of early Swedish Lutheran settlers penetrated up the Delaware River and in due course built their church in Wilmington, Delaware, and another in "Wiccacoe" in Pennsylvania, and subsequently another church in Kingessing, and still another up the Schuylkill River at what is now known as Bridgeport. These Swedish settlements were leavening centers of Christian influences, preparing the way for the colonization by William Penn and his followers. 1682 is a comparatively late date in the record of the several attempts to take possession of our Atlantic seaboard; and yet there were unique features about the enterprise of the Friends that have proved of extraordinary significance in the development of Pennsylvania and the shaping of our national ideals and spirit.

The first Church of England congregation gathered in Pennsylvania dates from 1695; it was made possible by the alert religious zeal of Henry Compton, Bishop of London. He saw to it that the clause was written into the charter Charles II granted to Penn, providing that at the request of twenty inhabitants a chaplain might be appointed for Pennsylvania. As early as 1695, the required number met, purchased a lot of ground on Second Street, and within a year a building was erected, and the Rev. Thomas Clayton, with due credentials, arrived to take charge of it. He found a congregation of about fifty persons, which under his active leadership was increased in the space of two years to seven hundred; when a sudden fatal illness left the promiseful work shepherdless. Amongst the determined group that inaugurated the devout enterprise were a number of substantial pioneers of religious liberty headed by Joshua Carpenter, Robert Quarry, Jasper Yeates, John Moore, George Fisher and John Harrison. Upon their appeal to Bishop Compton he sent them the Rev. Evan Evans, who proved eminently fitted for advancing the cause of religion in the infant town and surrounding hamlets. He visited settlements twenty, thirty, fifty miles distant; preached, baptized and administered the Holy Communion wherever he found

persons willing to receive him. He encouraged neighboring members of the Church to meet together and hold religious services for mutual instruction and encouragement. He organized many congregations and visited them frequently, without neglecting his duties at home. His flock in Philadelphia rapidly increased. For four years he had no fellow laborer in his wide-reaching field; but by 1704, through his instrumentality, four additional churches were erected in the surrounding settlements. In 1707 domestic duty called him back to England for a time, and while in London he addressed a memorial to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, stating what his labors had been, and what their success, and strongly urging that a Bishop should be sent over for the Colonies. In this memorial he names the following places which he often visited: Chichester, Chester, Maidenhead, where he baptized nineteen children at one time; Chester or Upland, Evesham in West Jersey, Montgomery, Radnor and Oxford. "All which," he says, "though equally fatiguing and expensive, I frequently went to, and preached in, being by all means determined to lose none of those whom I had gained, but rather add to them, till the Society otherwise provided for them. Montgomery and Radnor had the most considerable share in my labors, where I preached in Welsh once a fortnight for four years." He had baptized in Philadelphia and the above-named places eight hundred adults and children. On his return to his parish, in 1709, he continued to visit as before the neighboring settlements, and on one occasion baptized a whole family of Quakers to the number of fifteen."

Mr. Evans again visited England in 1715, at which time he received the honorary degree of doctor of divinity from one of the English universities. He returned the year following and undertook the charge of Oxford and Radnor, in connection with his own Church, but the duties were too arduous, by reason of his age and infirmities; and he resigned in 1718, to accept a less laborious cure offered him by the Governor of Maryland, and there he died in 1721. The Society in England bore this testimony to his character, "that he has been a faithful missionary, and had proved a great instrument toward settling religion and the Church of England in those wild parts."

But while due praise is awarded to both Mr. Clayton and Doctor Evans, we must not forget that it was a small band of devoted laymen who, unaided and alone, before the arrival of any minister, organized themselves into a congregation and built a church, the first in the Province.

From the files of the S. P. G. the following correspondence throws illustrative lights:



"On November 5, 1702, Keith and Talbot arrived at Philadelphia, 'and were kindly received by the two Ministers there, and the Church People, and especially by the late converts from Quakerism, who were become zealous Members of the Church.' On the next day, Sunday, the two Missionaries preached, 'and had a very great auditory, so that the church could not contain them, but many stayed without and heard.' Their preaching here and elsewhere prepared the way for resident Missionaries, whom the Society was not slow to send, the first being the Rev. H. Nichols, in 1703. He was stationed at Chester, or Uplands, where the people had begun building a church, but as the Vestry informed the Society, 'We never had so much reason to hope that ever the Gospell would be propagated, in these of all other Forreign Parts, till now we find ourselves to be the subject of your greatest care.' The Philadelphia *Minister and Vestry* also wrote in 1704:

" 'We can never be sufficiently thankfull to Divine Providence, who hath raised you up to maintain the Honor of religion, and to engage in the great work of promoting the Salvation of Men. Gratitude, and an humble acknowledgment of your noble and charitable Resolutions of propagating the Sacred Gospell in these remote and dark corners of the world, is not only a duty, but a just debt to you from all true Professors of Christianity. We cannot but with the profoundest deference make mention of those noble instances of piety and Beneficence you exhibited to the Church of God in generall in these uncultivated parts since you were first incorporated, particularly we crave leave to return you our most thankfull acknowledgments for your pious care in sending over the Rev. Mr. Keith, whose unparalleled zeal and assiduity, whose eminent piety, whose indefatigable diligence (beyond what could be expected from a person of his declining years), whose frequent preaching and learned conferences, whose strenuous and elaborate writing made him highly and signally instrumentall of promoting the Church and advancing the number of Christians not only here but in the neighbouring provinces.'

"Thus encouraged the Society continued to send Missionaries to Pennsylvania to minister to the settlers, Welsh as well as English, and to evangelise the heathen. The Colonists showed their desire for the Church's ministrations by building and endowing churches, and otherwise contributing to the support of their pastors.

"The Rev. T. Crawford, after two years' work at Dover, reported in 1706:

" 'At my first coming I found the people all stuffed with various opinions, but not one in the place that was so much of a churchman as to stand Godfather for a child; so that I was two months in the place before I baptized any on that account . . . but now (I thank God) I have



baptized a great number, they bring their children with sureties very orderly to the church; and also people at age a great many for by God's blessing upon my labours I have not only gained the heart of my hearers but some that were my greatest enemies are come over and have joyned themselves to our Communion. I have baptized families of them together, so I have dayly additions to the congregation."

"In Sussex County the Rev. W. Becket (1721-4) effected such a reformation in the lives of the people as to draw forth the 'thanks of the Magistrates and gentlemen of the Church of England' in the county. Within three years three churches were built in his Mission, 'yet none of them,' he wrote in 1724, 'will contain the hearers that constantly attend the Church service.' Grateful too were the Welsh at Oxford and Radnor, to be ministered to in their own tongue, while only 'poor settlers' 'in the wilderness.' The people at Radnor 'built a church in hopes of being supplied with the right worship of God,' hopes that were gratified in 1714 by the appointment of the Rev. J. Clubb. Amongst those who served was Richard Welton (1724-6) who was understood to have been consecrated a bishop by the non-jurors, but was recalled by the Bishop of London."

Beginning with the Crown officers of the earliest time, such as Colonel Robert Quarry, Judge of the Admiralty, and John Moore, Advocate of that Court, and continuing with the Lieutenant Governors under the Penns and various connections of that family, and ending with Benjamin Franklin and several other Signers of the Declaration of Independence, the congregation in Colonial times included nearly every Philadelphian of prominence outside of the Society of Friends. They were the products of the Church rather than its patrons; reverent worshippers of the God of their fathers, inheriting the ideals and nurtured by the disciplines that enabled them, each in his turn, to serve in the building of the New World.

Next to William Penn, himself a baptized child of the English Church, Pennsylvania owes most first to Bishop Henry Compton and perhaps even more to his Commissary, Thomas Bray. Dr. Bray's spiritual enthusiasm and inexhaustible resourcefulness were given enduring expression in the two far-reaching organizations, gratefully known in all the Colonies as the S. P. C. K., organized in 1698, and the S. P. G., incorporated in 1701. The Library, which as early as 1696 he founded here and administered with such effective methods as challenged comparison with the most modern of our libraries, served as an inducement for desirable graduates from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to come to these shores. And the personal supervision and generous support provided by his associates in the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel enlisted and sustained clergymen of choice quality and constructive leadership through the eighty fruitful years up to the Revolution. A distinctive characteristic in the Quaker settlement was its avoidance of an established church, either as found in the Southern States or in Massachusetts. This escape from any entangling alliance between State and Church had not a little to do with ensuring the high character and notable ability of the Pennsylvania clergy. Moreover, from the beginning the laity were so closely identified with responsibilities in the Church as to ensure a maximum of mutual helpfulness between them and the clergy. Whatever criticism, therefore, may be justly made of certain representatives of religion in other Colonies is not to be sweepingly applied in Pennsylvania. For instance, the Mother Church in Philadelphia has had but twelve rectors in its two hundred and forty years; and each and every one of these men have been faithful and fruitful in advancing the Kingdom.

The significant feature of this whole period was the co-operation of successive groups of outstanding laymen who, under the inspirations of the sanctuary, combined to build them into the community life of the Commonwealth and the Nation. Space forbids even the enumeration of these men here. But we should not omit to recall Dr. John Kearsley, the pioneer philanthropist, who not only for thirty years, from 1727, supervised the erection of the present monumental Christ Church, and was one of the committee of three who built Independence Hall, but who also in 1772 endowed Christ Church Hospital, which for years had been his personal contribution to Philadelphia's social service development. Nor can we overlook the co-operation of Benjamin Franklin in the erection of the tower and the importation of the famous bells.

It was in 1761 that St. Peter's Church was organized to care for the rapidly growing congregation; and that, hard by, St. Paul's Church came into being.

Then dawned in Philadelphia, now the foremost center in the Colonies, the agitation against the oppressive treatment of the German George who sat on the throne in England. The clergy and laity here were the outspoken exponents of the ideals of English Christianity. The following typical proclamation, dated June 30, 1775, was addressed to the Bishop of London, by Reverends Richard Peters, Jacob Duche, Thomas Coombe, William Stringer, William White and William Smith:

"We have neither interest nor consequence sufficient to take any great lead in the affairs of this great country. The people will feel and judge for themselves in matters

affecting their own civil happiness; and were we capable of any attempt which might have the appearance of drawing them to what they think would be a slavish resignation of their rights it would be destructive to ourselves as well as to the Church of which we are Ministers. But it is but justice to our superiors, and to your Lordship in particular to declare that such conduct has never been required of us. Indeed could it possibly be required, we are not backward to say that our consciences would not permit us to injure the rights of the country. We are to leave our families in it, and cannot but consider its inhabitants entitled as well as their brethren in England to the right of granting their own money; and that every attempt to deprive them of this right will either be found abortive in the end or attended with evils which would infinitely outweigh all the benefits to be obtained by it. Such being our persuasion, we must again declare it to be our constant prayer, in which we are sure your Lordship joins, that the hearts of good and benevolent men in both countries may be directed towards a plan of reconciliation worthy of being offered by a great nation that has long been the patrons of freedom throughout the world, and not unworthy of being accepted by a people sprung from them and by birth claiming a participation in their rights."

In this bold announcement they doubtless voiced the attitude of such foremost citizens here as Richard Bache, William Bingham, John Cadwallader, Benjamin Chew, Gerardus Clarkson, Redmon Cunyngham, Manuel Eyre, Michael Hillegas, Archibald McCall, Charles Meredith, Edmond Physick, William Plumstead, Samuel Powell, Edward Shippen and Richard and Thomas Willing.

In the maturing crisis no more courageous and constructive messages were spoken anywhere than those that issued time and again from this pulpit.

The fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence had been bred to such convictions as the primary dignity of human personality and the joy of service. They knew their Bibles, and constantly turned to God in worship and prayer for illumination and invigoration for helpfulness.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, our Church was bereft of its clergy and was popularly suspect as an institution somehow representative of the rejected British Government. The one minister left in Pennsylvania was the youthful William White, who soon proved himself the veritable savior of the situation. As the confidant of Washington and the trusted friend of the patriot leaders, he addressed himself with consummate ability to the patient reconstruction of the religious heritage; and throughout his prolonged career

became the guide of incomparable influence in the unprecedented task of re-establishing the spiritual and material forces of the historic Church.

The entire community believed in and loved him personally; and he was able to add to his exacting local pastoral labors prompt and imaginative attention to the needs of the Church in the new State. Moreover, his far-seeing thought rose at once above any sectional boundaries and his winsome approaches to men of complementary temperaments and even conflicting schools of thought enabled him to move forward without hesitation. Before the Treaty of Peace was signed and while there was still grave doubt as to what the future might unfold between the thirteen independent States and their separate or combined international relationships, he put forth in 1782: "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered," a pamphlet of striking originality and ecclesiastical statesmanship. As a consequence, he became a voluntary Committee of Correspondence with thoughtful fellow-churchmen here and everywhere. In 1783 he submitted to his vestry a proposition for forming a representative body of the Episcopal Churches in this State. At Eastertide, 1784, their proposals were laid before the congregations after several meetings with Mr. Blackwell of St. Peter's and Dr. Magaw of St. Paul's and a few representative laymen. A circular letter was agreed upon March 31, 1784, which Mr. White was authorized to send to the wardens and vestrymen of the different Episcopal congregations in the State, requesting them to send one or more delegates each to a meeting to be held in Philadelphia on Monday, the 24th day of May; in this it was pointed out that "a subject of such importance ought to be taken up if possible *with the general concurrence of the Episcopalians in the United States.*" On May 11, 1784, Dr. White and Dr. William Smith of Maryland met with the Rev. Abraham Beach of New Brunswick with the object of resuscitating the "Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy." The principles already agreed upon in Philadelphia were adopted and arrangements were inaugurated for procuring as general a meeting as might be of the clergy and laity of the different States in the city of New York on the 6th of October following. Before that general meeting a provincial one in Philadelphia had great influence upon it. Before the New York meeting Dr. White had further corresponded widely with Churchmen in various parts of the country, outlining the plan of reconstruction, stirring the interest and stimulating action, which resulted in bringing to New York representatives from eight States. It was, of course, a purely voluntary convention and its procedure took the form of recommendation. It

adopted a report embodying essentially the principles affirmed by the Philadelphia clergy in May; and it called for a collective convention to be held in Philadelphia September 27, 1785. Meanwhile, on May 23rd and 24th Dr. White had assembled clerical and lay representatives from his own State in what is popularly known as the first Pennsylvania Diocesan Convention.

Connecticut had already proceeded on somewhat different lines. Ten clergymen had met in 1783 in Woodbury and elected Samuel Seabury to cross the ocean and secure Episcopal consecration. Failing in his application to the English Bishops, he turned to the Scottish non-jurors and was duly consecrated in Aberdeen by Bishop Kilgour, assisted by Bishops Petrie and Skinner. He returned to this country in May, 1785; and after considerable correspondence, and after Dr. White had been duly elected to the Episcopate by the Convention of 1786 and consecrated by the English Bishops in Lambeth in 1787, they united to form a House of Bishops in 1789, when there was held what was really the first General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

What all this notable process of Church development has meant to the religious life of the American people cannot readily be exaggerated. Its influence in Pennsylvania has been beyond measure, spiritually, culturally, and in the leavening of every department of life.

William White has been inevitably the dominant figure not only because of his unequaled ministry of sixty-six years, for forty-nine of which he was the Bishop of the Commonwealth; but more particularly because of his singular gifts and incessant labors.

There was a challenging quality of reality and emphasis upon essentials in all his teaching and activities. The record of his fertility of initiative and his enterprise in philanthropic and educational directions is in itself impressive. His leadership in the development of schools and agencies of learning, out of which our system of universal education sprang, would fill a volume. He was a trustee of the College (later the University of Pennsylvania) from 1774 to 1836; he was the founder of the Episcopal Academy. He directed his assistants, Jackson Kemper and James Milnor, in starting the first Church Sunday School, and continued its expansion after their removal; he was the first president and founder of the Philadelphia Dispensary, the Prison Reform Society, the Magdalen Society, and the Philadelphia Bible Society; instituted the holding of religious services in the city prison; a lifelong member and for many years vice-president of the American Philosophical Society; he had been Chaplain of the



Continental Congress, and held a similar position with the Federal Congress while the government was located in Philadelphia.

An immediate task at the close of the war was to enlist and train native ministers. At his own suggestion his salary was the meager amount left over from the parish receipts and expenditures. It was with the frank call to a self-denying career that he lured the choicest youths to his tutelage, indoctrinating them with his own spirit of uncalculating eagerness to serve; he trained and ordained them, and they went forth far and near leaving indelible names in the onward march of the Church.

Then as early as 1812 came the organization of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. Drink in what he and his originating committee wrote in its prospectus:

"To the sincere believer in Christianity there can be no subject of more delightful reflection than the rapid progress which, by the blessing of God upon the exertion of Christians of all denominations she has made, and is yet making in every quarter of the known world. Her disciples, fighting, not with human weapons, but in the armour of their divine Master—speaking peace and good will to the inhabitants of the earth—have triumphantly planted the standard of the Cross in regions where idolatry had for ages maintained an undivided sway. Confining our view to the United States, there is much reason for joy and gratitude to the Great Disposer of all things. In that Catholic spirit which it is the duty and the disposition of Episcopalians to feel and to express, we applaud the efforts that have been made by all the members of the great Christian family.

"With peculiar pleasure we also regard the happy consequences which have proceeded from the pious and benevolent exertion of the members of our own Church. It would not perhaps become us to speak boastingly of recent occurrences in our own congregations in the city of Philadelphia; but we may be permitted to say that in them also we find much encouragement to our present undertaking."

The year before he thus launched that pioneer Advancement Society he had consecrated his son-in-the-faith, Hobart, to be Bishop of New York; and (after six following consecrations) he laid hands on Philander Chase for his aggressive planting of the Church in Ohio and Illinois; and he was nurturing the youthful Kemper for his wonderful service in Missouri and Indiana and Wisconsin.

In 1813 he began a series of missionary visitations which reached a climax in 1825, when he was seventy-eight years old. In that attempt to cross the Alleghanies he suffered a broken wrist and other

injuries at Lewiston. And the next year at the age of seventy-nine he crossed over to Pittsburgh and Wheeling, Virginia, and completed a circle of eight hundred and thirty miles. Again the following year he penetrated to New Milford, near the New York line, and out to Bradford County.

The Bishop's report to the Convention of 1833, when he was eighty-six, is typical. He had just been presiding at the General Convention, still at work enriching the Prayer Book. As President of the Advancement Society, he had been dedicating new churches in Manayunk and Newtown and West Marlboro, Vincent, Honesdale and Lawrenceville and Grace, Philadelphia. And shortly afterward he presided at the Convention in Delaware. The subjects to which he called attention in addressing his own Convention were these: The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, The Advancement Society, The Sunday School Union, The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Orphans, The General Seminary, The Pennsylvania Bible Society, and The Bishop's Fund.

Finally he delivered to that Convention a charge on the live topic of the day, "Revivals," a dispassionate, illuminating deliverance of assured benefit at the time, and that would prove suggestive for those who today are interested in the First Century Christian Fellowship.

It may be permitted to repeat that some day our historians will inform themselves and those for whom they write, recapturing a true sense of values and exalting this type of consecrated manhood, together with the high cause of true religion for which he wrought so resultfully.

The story of the march of the Church in Pennsylvania under his successors to the present day is one of continuing advance. The vast territory of the state-wide diocese embraced 44,832 square miles, its population in 1830 was 1,347,672, which has increased today to 9,631,350. The area is now divided into five dioceses in which there are five apostolic bishops, 535 devoted priests, and 150,000 communicants, whose contributions the past year totaled \$4,153,367. The institutions are of wide variety, and the agencies for missionary, educational and humanitarian service are many and efficient in the co-operative task of extending the Kingdom of our Blessed Lord and Saviour.

With gratitude to God for our priceless heritage, we face the future with heart-searching reconsecration and fervent intercession for the deepening of our spiritual life that we may go from strength to strength in the performance of our proportionate share of bringing the power of God into the life of the people.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Anglicanism: The Thought and Practice of the Church of England.*

Illustrated from the Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century. Compiled and Edited by Paul Elmer More and Frank Leslie Cross. Morehouse Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wis. 1935. Pp. 811.

This large and beautifully printed volume will meet a long-felt want. It brings within the reach of students of Anglican theology the writings of the masters of religious thought in a period of paramount importance. It is extraordinarily rich in material. Beginning with the Church, including the Roman and Eastern, it includes Puritanism and the Quakers, the Bible, Councils and Creeds. Under the head of Theology the Atonement and Immortality find a place. One section is devoted to the Ministry, including non-Episcopal orders. A large place is given to the Eucharist, including the Real Presence and its sacrificial aspect. Under these and many other heads copious extracts are given from the writings of men like Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Laud, Lancelot Andrewes, John Donne and other writers of the Seventeenth Century. The answer to the question, What is the teaching of Anglicanism? is found in these pages. The extracts are preceded by two invaluable essays: Paul Elmer More on "The Spirit of Anglicanism" and Felix R. Arnott, of Keble College, on "Anglicanism in the Seventeenth Century." The volume closes with a series of extracts illustrating piety in the Caroline period and short biographical sketches. It is good to know that the idea of such a work originated in America and that it has found an American publisher. It should find a place in the library of every parish priest and in the libraries of our intelligent laymen.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

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